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## THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following extracts from the reports of her Majesty's Slave-trade Commissioners for 1845-6, just laid before Parliament, will show the activity with which that nefarious traffic is carried on, notwithstanding the increased numbers and vigilance of the British cruisers.

### SIERRA LEONE.

#### *Her Majesty's Commissioner to the Earl of Aberdeen.*

The number of cases adjudicated was thirty, of which nine were tried in the British and Spanish court, and twenty-one in the British and Brazilian court. Twenty-eight were cases of condemnation, and two were dismissed, having occurred subsequently to the 13th of March last, at which period the convention of 1847, under which they were captured, terminated. 1189 slaves were emancipated during the year, of whom 1187 were registered. During the same period 2032 slaves, the survivors of 2329 captured, were emancipated by the court of vice-admiralty at Sierra Leone.

The total number of vessels prosecuted before the mixed commissioners, since their establishment in this colony in June 1819, up to the present date, is 528, whereof 501 were cases of condemnation, and twenty-seven were either withdrawn, dismissed, or restored to the claimant. During the same period there have been emancipated by these courts, 64,625 slaves, of whom 56,935 have been registered here.

Of the vessels adjudicated during 1845, three Spanish and one Brazilian had slaves on board when captured. Two of the Spaniards had shipped their cargoes at Popoe for conveyance to Brazil, the other at the Pongas, and was bound to Havana. The Brazilian vessel embarked her slaves at Lagos for delivery in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro.

The destinations on the coast of the other twenty-six vessels, were three for Rio Pongas, three for Gallinas and New Cestos; twelve for Lagos, Whydah, and Popoe, in the Bight of Benin; and eight for Loango, river Congo, Cabinda, Ambriz, and Angola; their return voyages, so far as can be ascertained, were to have been, five for the island of Cuba, ten for Bahia, seven for Rio de Janeiro and Cape Frio, and four for Pernambuco, Santos, and Campos.

Of the whole number, twenty-two were captured to the north and eight to the south of the equator; seventeen were American built, eight Brazilian, and five Spanish.

In the immediate vicinity of this colony—in the Rio Pongas to the northward, the Sherbro and Cape Mount to the southward, although several vessels have been captured, still some cargoes of slaves have been carried off, even very recently; and we regret to state that the traffic seems by no means on the decline in those localities, although a partial check was given to it in the early part of the year, by the destruction of the slave factories of Luis and Ximenes, at Seabar and Gallinas.

A great blow has been struck at the slave-trade, especially that carried on between Lagos and Bahia, by the very numerous seizures in the Bight of Benin; yet even from that part of the coast, despite the utmost exertions of the squadron, some cargoes of slaves have been carried off.

There has also been, notwithstanding the active endeavours of the Portuguese Government to suppress it, a very extensive traffic in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese possessions to the southward of the line. Our own list of captures made in that direction is considerable; and it appears from the following extract of a letter addressed to Commodore Jones, by her Majesty's arbitrator at Loanda, dated 12th of August last, that several cases have been brought before the mixed court established in that settlement:—

"During the three months I have resided here, I have received positive intelligence of eleven slave vessels which have appeared on the coast, of which number, seven have been captured or destroyed by the Portuguese squadron, two by British cruisers, and two have escaped with cargoes of slaves; all within a distance of fifty miles on either side of the city of Loanda."

In our report for last year we commented on the apparent revival of the Cuba slave-trade; the result of the proceedings of 1845 would, however, induce us to hope that that revival was merely partial and temporary; the number of Spanish slave vessels shown in the present return being considerably less than in that of 1844; and all, it will be seen, were captured within the first five months of the year. One third of them were employed in carrying slaves to Brazil; so that in fact, not more than six of the nine Spanish vessels detained, were engaged in Spanish slave-trade.

On the other hand, the number of Brazilian slave vessels captured during 1845, has far exceeded those detained in any previous year, notwithstanding that the British and Brazilian court of mixed commissioners ceased to adjudicate in August last, and that with the exception of the *Adelaide*, detained on the 12th of August, and subsequently given up, no vessel furnished with Brazilian papers was taken by any of her Majesty's cruisers, between the 23rd of July and the 22nd of October, in consequence of the expiration of the Convention of 1847, and the Act 8 and 9 Victoria, cap. 122, not having come into operation.

This increase will be more evident from the following general statement of cases of Brazilian slave vessels, and of vessels engaged in Brazilian slave-trade, brought here for adjudication during the year 1845:—

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Brazilian vessels proceeded against in the British and Brazilian Court of Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone, during the year 1845   | 21 |
| Brazilian vessels captured between the 25th of April and 13th of August, and brought to Sierra Leone but not proceeded against, there being no court competent to take cognizance of the cases   | 4  |
| Brazilian vessels captured under the Act 8 and 9 Victoria, cap. 122, and proceeded against in the Vice-admiralty Court at Sierra Leone   | 5  |
| Vessels engaged in Brazilian slave-trade, but without papers or other evidence to prove a national character, prosecuted and condemned in the Vice-admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, during the year 1845, and under the Act 2nd and 3rd Victoria, cap. 73. | 10 |
| Spanish vessels engaged in Brazilian slave-trade, condemned in the British and Spanish Mixed Court of Justice at Sierra Leone, during 1845   | 3  |
|  | 43 |

From this it will be seen that forty-three cases of Brazilian slave-trade were brought for adjudication into Sierra Leone alone; a fact from which some idea may be formed of the great extent of the traffic as regards Brazil, especially if there be taken into consideration the cases of Brazilian slave-trade sent into St. Paul de Loanda, and to the Vice-admiralty court at St. Helena, by her Majesty's cruisers during the past year. These are stated to have been eighteen in number, which would give a total of sixty-one cases of Brazilian slave-trade during 1845, without including the numerous captures made by the Portuguese squadron, or by her Majesty's cruisers attached to the Cape of Good Hope and employed on the East Coast, where the Brazilian slave-trade is at present said to be in great activity; but we have no sufficient



information respecting the proceedings of either of those naval forces to enable us to include them in our calculation.

So destructive to the traffic has the employment of steam vessels of war been found, that the Brazilian dealers have been driven to the desperate shift of fitting out steam slavers. One of these, the *Cacique*, has been captured, but another, we regret to learn, has recently got off safely from the Congo with a cargo of seventeen hundred Negroes.

The *Cacique* was built in New York, where she was called the *Tigress*, and ran for a short time as a passage boat worked by a screw propeller. In March last she was purchased by a Brazilian named Seixas, and taken, it is said, under American colours to Pernambuco, where paddle-wheels were fitted to her, and the machinery of her engines removed to the deck, so as to leave an open hold fore and aft; a slaving equipment was added; the crew, with the exception of the four American engineers, changed; a long gun and small arms for thirty hands put on board; and in August she started for Cabinda, off which she arrived on the 20th September. At Cabinda, Mr. Seixas the owner, went on shore, and found one thousand slaves awaiting him ready for shipment, but fifteen hundred being the steamer's complement, he ordered her to sea for ten days until the deficiency should be collected. She was, however, fortunately fallen in with and detained on the 26th, by her Majesty's steam frigate *Penelope*, having previously easily evaded her Majesty's sloop *Cygnat* and another cruiser, by steering head to wind.

Some of the slave vessels captured this year were furnished with the flags of Portugal, America, France, and Buenos Ayres, in addition to the colours under which they professed to sail; and some had equipments of an unusually piratical character, being heavily armed, and provided with crews of great numerical strength, and composed for the most part of persons of different nations.

The termination of the British and Brazilian Mixed Commission, the only remaining court that did not exact the breaking up of condemned slave vessels, has for the time put an end to the possibility of such vessels being re-employed in the slave trade; an abuse which we trust may never be revived, feeling assured that in any future treaty which may be entered into between Great Britain and Brazil, there will be a special clause providing for the destruction of slave vessels. In the meanwhile, however, we have to record the fact that two of the vessels adjudicated in 1845 by the Mixed Commissions and also two adjudicated in the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone, had previously been condemned here as slavers. And we think it more than probable, that some of those recently condemned in the British and Brazilian Court will also be returned into the traffic, having either been purchased at auction by known slave dealers, or by others likely to dispose of them to such parties.

This practice has indeed already been largely resorted to, from a desire to avoid prosecution in any of the Mixed Courts, on account of the nature of the examinations to which witnesses are subjected, and the exposure consequent upon the publication of the evidence, both of which the slavers are well aware they may escape in the Vice-Admiralty Courts, where they are not examined at all, unless the cases be contested, and even then it has not been customary hitherto for the evidence to be printed.

In concluding this report we regret to have to remark that there appears to be some ground for apprehension that the new French settlements on the coast, may tend to encourage the slave trade, if they be not kept under stricter surveillance than seems to be at present exercised over them. We find that Bahia slavers are now despatched and regularly cleared for the Gaboon, of which river the French claim the sovereignty; and it is alleged that the small French military party there has afforded its protection to vessels engaged in the traffic.—*Slave Trade Papers, Class A, 1847, p. p. 8—12.*

#### HAVANA.

*Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen.*

The commissioners state, in their report for 1845, that "the number of slaves imported during the last year may be supposed to have been only about 1300 in round numbers as probably correct."

To account for this extraordinary diminution in the African slave traffic with Cuba, the commissioners say it must be attributed to the strict blockade of the African coast; 2nd, to the uncertainty of action of the Spanish government; and 3rd, Another reason for the apparent decline may be given on account of the general

depression of the sugar trade, and the losses suffered by the planters in 1844, by the long drought, followed by the overwhelming hurricane of October in that year. These two calamities were attended with the most disastrous effects, the sugar crop of that season having been more than half lost, and the future production of coffee, as a staple produce of this island, may be said to have been nearly destroyed.

The number of boxes of sugar (of which five are equal to a ton) from this place and Mantanzas, exported in 1844, amounted to 847,000 which was about 140,000 more than ever before known. In the five years preceding, the exportations averaged only about 700,000, and in the five years anterior to these, little more than 500,000. These figures show how much the cultivation of sugar had been promoted of late in this island, involving with it of course the increased importation of slave labour for that purpose.

From that enormous quantity of 847,000 boxes, shipped in 1844, the number fell in 1845 to 365,921½, on account of the damages occasioned by the drought and hurricane; and as the sugar-canes have not yet recovered their strength, and much had to be planted anew, the crop of this season it is supposed will not produce more than about 750,000 boxes, the average of former years. The same quantity of field, however, continues laid down, the same increasing quantity of sugar may be expected in future years, as in 1844, and a proportionate number of labourers therefore will be required.

It is on this consideration that we are led to enter into this subject, because of the tendency to slave trade thence arising, to supply the demand.

Notwithstanding the diminished number of slaves introduced into the island during the last year, it is a matter of some surprise that the price in the market for them is not very materially advanced. This is to be accounted for partly by the planters not having yet recovered from their losses by the drought and hurricane, so as to enable them to enter into fresh purchases and speculations, and partly on account of the utter prostration of coffee planting in the island, in consequence of which the negroes formerly engaged on coffee estates, have been now transferred to the labour of sugar plantations.

The production of coffee in this island, as a staple produce, it was before observed, may be considered nearly at an end. Most of the coffee estates had been long kept up, only because the persons residing on them had no alternative, and some because they had been family possessions; but when the hurricane of 1844 swept over the island, rooting up the trees, and destroying the buildings, many of the owners, instead of incurring the expenses that would be necessary to replant their fields, and repair the buildings, for a produce that would yield them no profitable return, preferred to give up the cultivation of coffee altogether, and sell off the negroes, who have thus been made to supply the demands of the growers of sugar.

The quantity of coffee exported in 1844 amounted to 18,000,000½ pounds, from Havana and Matanzas; and in 1845 to 4,250,000.

While the growth of coffee in future will be so decreased, the cultivation of sugar may be expected to be even increased. Notwithstanding the lessened crop of the last year, the higher prices occasioned have gone far to redeem the losses sustained by the planters; and they have exerted themselves accordingly to prepare for the future. Whether the market of England be opened to them or not, the very agitation of the question is to them an advantage, in keeping up the prices; while the measures adopted for admitting foreign free-grown sugar, if they make sugar cheaper in England, make it dearer on the continent, where Cuban sugar has hitherto only been sold, and where, therefore, it must be supposed to maintain its advantages. The cultivation of sugar may for these reasons be expected to receive an impetus, which, occasioning a continued demand for slave labour, renders these details required.

To meet this demand, and procure slaves from Africa, your lordship will perceive by the lists of vessels despatched in 1844 and 1845 [Enclosures Nos. 2 and 3], that we enumerated eighteen in the former year, and thirteen in the last. These are indeed very much less than the average of former years; but we suspect they are below the actual numbers, because of the vessels having been lately sent from the outports and other places direct, rather than from this harbour, where it was found advisable, both for the dealers and the authorities, to avoid the publicity of the fitting out. We believe therefore that we may not have been informed of more than perhaps two-thirds of the slave vessels despatched.



If a greater number has not been dispatched, we fear we can ascribe it only to the causes we have already assigned for the diminution of arrivals; namely, the strictness of the blockade, the uncertain policy of this Government, and the present state of the price of slaves, which offers no adequate inducement to incur the risks; while there is as yet a supply going on from the coffee estates to satisfy the demand. This supply we estimate, from the fullest consideration we are able to give the subject, and information we can obtain, to have amounted already to several thousands; and probably there may be several thousands more yet remaining to be so transferred. In the meanwhile, the present and future state of the slave population is a subject well deserving of attention.

So far back as the 1st January, 1840 (See Slave Trade Papers, for that year, Class A, Further Series, p. 37), we called the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the circumstance of a very disproportionate number of males to females having been customarily brought from Africa; and observed, that of the fourteen cargoes last captured, and adjudged by the Mixed Court at this place, there were found on board, and declared liberated, only 988 females to 2765 males. We have no doubt this average, nearly three males to one female, has been that of all the importations.

In a late despatch, dated the 31st October last, we pointed out the circumstance of there being 830 males to 537 females, of the class of adult emancipados, who have received their freedom from this Government; and that those 537 females had only 444 children, though the mothers might be all stated to be from fifteen to fifty years of age, having been all brought from Africa, and declared free here, between the years 1820 and 1835. In all that time, therefore, only upon the number of females, the increase had not amounted to four per cent. per annum; and if we could ascertain the true number of deaths we might find it much less. If, however, we take the whole number of males and females together, the decrease would no doubt be found frightfully great.

Of the Negroes brought, the females have been in greater proportion left in the towns for domestic purposes than the males, who were sent into the country, and exposed to the severe labours which occasion the frightful mortality among them. The former being so left in the towns, and living very promiscuously, it is a question whether their numbers could be expected to increase in the one case or in the other.

Taking these facts into consideration, our next remark must be on the decrease of the slave population, from excessive toil or other causes, which has been stated to amount to even ten per cent., so as, that in ten years, the whole population had formerly to be renewed by fresh importations. This we think a great exaggeration; but from the data given above, we can well assent to the calculations of those with whom we have conversed on the subject, as being persons on whose opinions we can rely, that there is a decrease, on the average, of from three to five per cent. per annum. Taking it at only three per cent., the decrease in the slave population, stated in the census to be 436,495, will be per annum about 14,000: and these losses in ten years, amounting, as they would, to a fourth of the whole, would be so severely felt, as to occasion great alarm, if the slave-trade be suppressed effectually. The planters have made no provision for such an event, by the purchase of a proportionate number of females; nor yet by any care of the children born to the few females they possess: consequently, there is, comparatively speaking, few of the Negro race growing up to take the place of those who die.

If, therefore, the cultivation of sugar continues only as at present, there will be a great demand for labour, which will be supplied, at all risks illegally, if not to be obtained by proper means. The extended use of machinery may effect much, and from this we have great hopes. There is also an attempt made to meet the demand by a supply of labourers from Spain; but from this means we can expect little result, as they cannot apparently be obtained in sufficient numbers; and when they do come, do not seem adapted to the labours of the field, or they will not submit to the tasks which have been considered as appropriate only for slaves. For these colonists there were chartered here last year, by the Board for promoting public works, several vessels; but the numbers brought altogether did not amount to 600, and of those probably none would take what may be considered the true labours of the field. There has also been a proposition suggested to bring labourers from the Manilla Islands, where they say there is a swarming population, exceeding three millions; but the expense, we believe, would deter individuals from such an undertaking, and the Government at present is not likely to adopt it.

When, therefore, the pressure arises for fresh labour, it is probable the slave-trade will be more connived at even than at present. This we fear from two causes: first, the cupidity of the Governors, who, each coming for a short and uncertain period, naturally wish to enrich themselves as soon as possible; and, secondly, from the state of public opinion in Spain. The Governors of Matanzas, Trinidad, and Santiago de Cuba, seem to be independent of the Captain-General in this respect; as those officers, even under General Valdes, openly protected the trade, and benefited by his forbearance. If only one of them should be found to connive at its continuance, the dealers might avail themselves of it in a manner to secure all they required, and in such an extent of coast it would be easy to escape all further pursuit. Secondly, we fear the state of public opinion in Spain is still such as to be easily gained by remonstrances from this place by interested parties, to admit of the continuance of the trade.

During the debates in the Cortes on the penal law lately passed against persons engaged in slave-trade, we regretted to observe, that with the exception of Senor Martinez de la Rosa, whose speech was in unison with his position, there was but one member who denounced the trade upon true principles. The speech of that member, the Senor Olivain, was one well deserving of admiration; and we feel pleasure in adverting to it, as containing also a just eulogium on the character and administration of General Valdes. Senor Olivain was formerly in business at this place, and it is understood that he spoke as the organ of the Creole party here, with whom he stands in some relation, such as to be generally spoken of as their agent. On the other side, all the public characters of Spain, the persons likely to have part in any other Government that may be formed, Senor Isturitz and others, spoke in a manner to favour the trade, and give the most discouraging expectation of their course of conduct, if ever they should have the power again to put their opinions into practice.

Foreseeing, then, that a great demand for slaves will arise in a very few years, we fear that it will only be by a continuance of the same measures on the coast as are now adopted, that the trade can be repressed. From this Government, as at present constituted, no hope of suppression, we fear, can be expected. In 1842, when General Valdes had the power, there were only three slave vessels despatched hence. In the last year there were, as before stated, thirteen, of which five have sailed under the American, and eight under the Spanish flag. Such facts and considerations we humbly submit in corroboration of the opinions we have felt it our duty to express.—*Ibid*, Pp. 111—114.

# RIO DE JANEIRO.

## *Her Majesty's Consul and Arbitrator to Earl Aberdeen.*

Analysis of the traffic between Rio de Janeiro and Africa, during the year 1845, taken from the custom-house returns:—

| Departures to Africa.       |          | Arrivals from Africa.       |          |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|
|                             | Vessels. |                             | Vessels. |
| Under the Brazilian Flag .. | 25       | Under the Brazilian Flag .. | 11       |
| „ American .....            | 14       | „ American .....            | 8        |
| „ Sardinian .....           | 6        | „ Portuguese .....          | 2        |
| „ Hamburguese .....         | 3        | „ Belgian .....             | 1        |
| „ Danish .....              | 2        | „ Hamburguese .....         | 1        |
| „ French .....              | 2        |                             |          |
| „ Portuguese .....          | 2        |                             | 23       |
| „ Prussian .....            | 1        |                             |          |
|                             | 55       |                             |          |

By these official returns it appears that the intercourse between Rio de Janeiro and Africa during 1845, was greater than in the preceding year, the above lists giving seventy-eight vessels, when those for 1844 were only of forty-nine vessels.

During last year, as in those preceding, it will be seen that a large portion of the vessels which were cleared out for Africa did not return to this port. This difference between departures and arrivals, was last year thirty-two vessels; a difference almost double of what appeared in the year 1844; evidently showing that the old system, whereby vessels on their return from Africa, came to the outports on this coast, continues in active practice. And at those ports, though no custom-houses exist, still, large store-houses and other necessary establishments for the outfit of vessels on a return voyage to Africa, are openly and efficiently kept up by the slave dealers.

We are credibly informed that at Campos, a Spaniard and noted slave dealer, called Francisco Riveiroga, is building two vessels upon the most approved plan for sailing and for carrying a large number of slaves; a proceeding which affords another



proof of the protection given to all slave trading by the authorities in that quarter. It is said that this Spaniard has several slave factories on the African coast under the immediate management of his brother.

Out of the fifty-five vessels which were cleared through this custom-house bound to Africa, during last year, the following do not appear to have returned to this harbour:—fourteen Brazilian, six American, six Sardinian, two Hamburguese, two French, and two Danish, in all thirty-two; and it is to be hoped that some have been intercepted in their illegal voyages. But these custom-house returns are also deceptive as to the number of vessels leaving this harbour for Africa, many in reality bound there having sailed with false clearances for South American and other ports.

There was a considerable increase in the number of departures to Africa during the last six months, as compared with the first half of the year 1845; in fact, the activity of the slave-dealers has increased of late, and we regret to add, that they continue to meet from vessels under the flag of the United States, most important assistance in the conveyance from hence to the African shores, of the means for purchasing and bringing away slaves. We have, in previous reports, denounced, and fully explained the manner by which the American flag is made subservient to the nefarious acts of slave-dealers; and we lament to add, that the system of chartering vessels navigated under that flag,—a system which proves the main channel for the Brazilian Slave Trade, was in full operation during the year 1845, and has been pursued even to a greater extent since the commencement of the present year.

The enclosed list is the result of our exertions to ascertain the operations of the slave-dealers in landing African slaves on this part of the empire during the year 1845; and whatever obstacles their nefarious enterprizes may have met on the eastern side of the Atlantic, their success has been evidently certain so soon as they struck soundings on the Brazilian coast.

In our anxiety to furnish a correct and full report of these illegal transactions, we have not neglected any means of obtaining information; notwithstanding which, we have ample reason to fear that many instances of successful slave importations have baffled our enquiries.

The difficulty thus experienced will not be surprising, when we most respectfully assure your Lordship, that all the establishments described in our last report, as so completely adapted for the secure and clandestine landing of negroes, are still in efficient and undisturbed operation at the remotest points of this line of coast, as well as in the nearest suburbs of this capital.

From the best information we could obtain, there were landed from thirty-six vessels, whose tonnage, on the aggregate, is 5,572 tons, 13,459 slaves; from which it appears that two tons was the space allowed for five negroes, and for all the provisions and water they would consume during a voyage from Africa, as well as the crew. No doubt the suffering and the consequent loss of life amongst these unfortunate Africans, crammed into small and bad vessels, and exposed to all kinds of lawless acts, could it be ascertained, would be found to reach to the usual calamitous extent.

Of these thirty-six vessels, only three proceeded to the southward of Cape Frio, namely, the *Empreendedor*, and *Lagunense*, to Dous Rios, and the *Braziliense*, to St. Sebastian; the remaining thirty-three were all cleared of their wretched cargoes either at, or to the northward of Cape Frio, and in the immediate vicinity of this port. We presume that the southern landing places were deemed too hazardous, as, in approaching them, the slave-vessels would cross the track of British men-of-war between Rio de Janeiro and the River Plate. This risk must have been considered sufficiently great, as the slave dealers have had to suffer, and are still incurring considerable expense by moving the recently-landed negroes to Santos, Ilha Grande, and other southern markets, on board the coasting steamers; the owners of which are said to have made, and are still enjoying, very profitable voyages by that employment.

All these illegal proceedings in this now-frequented line of coast, are not even noticed by any Brazilian authority, and steamers depart from and enter the different bays and harbours with large numbers of Africans in full view of all the surrounding population, without any public record being made, or means taken to attest, in any authentic manner, occurrences of such public notoriety; and which, notwithstanding, are carefully and unblushingly denied.

Such is the general system of deception and mystery by which

the slave trade is now so successfully maintained, that extreme caution is required in seeking for information, lest the gold of slave-dealers bribe the informer to substitute false statements for real occurrences; and it is not too much to assert, that, with the executive and its subordinates, it is a more criminal act to communicate to a British functionary the particulars of a slave-trading transaction than to be engaged in it.

From the enclosed list it appears that the number of slaves landed is less than that in the last year by upwards of 2,700; and no doubt there has been a check in their abstraction from Africa during 1845. Taking for granted, however, that as usual, a number of slaves have been landed, of which no exact information could be obtained, we conclude that 16,000 is a fair estimate of the number of slaves landed in this province during the year 1845. Their average price was about £55 sterling, for cash payments, and £77 in payments of three instalments during three years.

Under the positive, though disavowed protection of the Brazilian government, several slave-dealers have become very opulent; and the credit they enjoy in consequence, as capitalists, now enables them to support a trade, the main profits of which they reap, while, at the same time, they escape by the system hereafter explained, any serious injury from seizures.—*Ibid.* pp. 184, 185.

#### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

##### *Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen.*

It is with much regret we have to state that our informants are unanimous in their opinion that the traffic is still carried on to a great extent, and in a manner which defies the exertions of the small number of ships employed by her Majesty's Government, and by that of her Most Faithful Majesty for its suppression.

Since the date of our last despatch to your lordship upon this subject (the 15th of October, 1845), we have learned that slaves have been carried off principally from Ibo and Pomba, and other places to the northward of Quillemane. At Pomba, indeed, in the month of November last, the slave-dealers were so confident of impunity, that they had the temerity to fire upon a party of men sent by Captain Pinho, of her most faithful Majesty's brig *Villa Flor*, to seize a slave dhow lying in the bay, killing one man and wounding another. Captain Pinho, however, landed more men, and with the aid of a party from her Majesty's ship *Mutine*, destroyed two slave barracoons and the houses in the neighbourhood.

At Ibo slaves had been collected in considerable numbers, but her most faithful Majesty's ship *Villa Flor*, and a gun-boat, which formed the force employed in this quarter, had not succeeded in making any captures—the Portuguese Governor being in favour of the slave-trade.

It is with great regret that we have learned that equipments for slave-vessels are brought to the east coast in vessels under the flags of France and of the United States. One recent instance is that of the French brig *Maria*.

We understand that one other vessel which came to the coast last year under the French flag succeeded in carrying off a cargo of slaves to Rio de Janeiro.

Captain Gambier subsequently boarded off Casuarina a barque which hoisted American colours, and had a set of papers showing her to be the American barque *Lucy Penniman*, M. H. Cowper, master, bound from Rio de Janeiro to Zanzibar, with a cargo of aguardente, farinha, iron, &c.; and having on board nine Portuguese and Brazilians as passengers, who were evidently a second crew. Captain Gambier having no means of proving the falsity of the American papers, of course suffered her to proceed on her voyage, although, from information he had received both at Quillemane and Mozambique, he had no doubt but that she was one of the number of vessels which were expected over from Rio de Janeiro under American colours, but furnished also with Brazilian papers and colours, in order that they might be transferred to the Brazilian flag, and carry off cargoes of slaves, when they should have discharged the slave goods and equipments which they were to bring from Rio de Janeiro.

But perhaps the most disheartening fact which has come to our knowledge, as regards Quillemane, is that the governor of that place is reported to have yielded to the tempting offers of the slave-traders, and to have received bribes for his connivance in the malpractices of the subordinate authorities. Information to this effect reached us at the close of last year, when our report was in preparation, but we were unwilling even to mention a rumour so



seriously affecting an officer of whose conduct in opposing the slave-trade it had been our pleasing duty to make honourable mention, until the accounts to his discredit received further confirmation.

The report which we had the honour to make in our despatch of October 15th, 1845, that slaves are carried across to Madagascar in dhows, and shipped thence on board the slavers which lie there to receive them, is confirmed; but we have heard of no recent instances, because this system can only be acted on with any degree of safety, during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, which blows from May to September, in consequence of the current which sets to the southward being so strong during the north-east monsoon.

During the year 1845 twelve vessels were captured by the British squadron in the Mozambique Channel. Of these cases ten have been brought before the Court of Vice-Admiralty in this colony, and condemned, as not being entitled to the flag of any nation, no defence being offered. One, the *Princeza*, being a Brazilian vessel, was despatched to Sierra Leone, where, as we have learned, she was released, the captor at the time of capture not being duly authorised to act under the Convention with Brazil, by the Act 8 and 9 Victoria, cap. 122; and one other Brazilian, the *Triumfante*, has been condemned by the Court of Vice-Admiralty here, under that Act, after a trial which occupied the court some time. In two of these cases only were negroes found on board. The number so captured was 306, of whom 272 reached this colony, and were restored to freedom and apprenticed in the usual course.

Of the twelve prizes seven were only dhows, of from thirty to eighty tons burden, employed in collecting slaves for larger vessels, so that the slave-traders have only lost five of their vessels; but a small portion of the number employed in the slave-trade between Rio de Janeiro and the East Coast during the past year.

In addition to these twelve cases, Captain Crawford of her Majesty's ship *Mutine*, twice chased a large dhow with 320 slaves on board, intended for the *Princeza*. This dhow was afterwards driven on shore on the 6th of May, 1845, at Port Mocamba, and the surviving slaves, 202 in number, were given up to the Governor-General of Mozambique, and emancipated by him.—*Ibid*, pp. 205, 206.

In a subsequent despatch of the Commissioners to Lord Palmerston they say:—

With reference to our despatch of the 6th of April last, relative to the state of the slave-trade on the east coast of Africa, we have now the honour to lay before your lordship such further information as has reached us upon that subject, by which we regret to learn that the traders resident in the Brazils have not relaxed in their undertakings; no less than twenty-five vessels, three of which were steam-vessels, being reported as out on this nefarious pursuit from the port of Rio de Janeiro alone. These vessels, it appears, have been despatched in sets of five or six; and before the person through whom this statement reached us, left Rio de Janeiro, three of them had returned and landed their slaves; and as only two have been brought in here for adjudication, it is to be feared that by far the larger number will ere this have been equally successful.

One of these vessels is, we are told, a brig named the *Atrevido Africano*, commanded by the notorious Serva, whose name was brought to public notice last year in connexion with the *Felicidade* and *Echo*. This vessel, it is said, is armed with ten guns and two swivels, and has a crew of 110 men, with which force it is Serva's determination to resist any efforts of her Majesty's cruisers to prevent his illegal purposes.—*Ibid*, p. 231.

#### LOANDO.

*Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner to the Earl of Aberdeen.*

The total number of cases adjudged by the British and Portuguese Court of Mixed Commission in this city, from January, 1844, to the 31st of December, 1845, is fifteen, whereof eight were cases of confiscation, six of restoration, and one case came before the court for trial, but the prosecution was not proceeded with, in default of sufficient evidence to prove the captor's authority to search and detain Portuguese ships.

The total number of vessels captured and destroyed for being engaged in the slave-trade on the coast south of the equator, during the past year, so far as any authentic intelligence has reached me, to this date, is fifty-two, of which forty-three have been captured or destroyed by the British, and nine by the Por-

tuguese squadron. Five of the whole number had slaves on board at the time of detention, of which one cargo was shipped to the northward and four to the southward of this city, making together a total of 2,095 slaves. All the rest were cases of equipment, and with few exceptions were engaged in the Brazilian slave-trade.

The greater proportion of the vessels having been captured without colours or papers, have been sent for adjudication to the Vice-Admiralty Court at St. Helena, and latterly all those detained under the Act 1 and 9 Victoria, cap. 122, have also been sent there.

The River Congo appears at present to be one of the most active and extensive slave-depôts on the south coast of Africa. On the north side of the entrance to this river, near the Mona Morea Bank, there is a small sequestered creek or inlet, called Pirate's Creek, well-adapted for the concealment of slavers whilst preparing to receive their cargoes; and I have been informed that there are barracoons on the banks of the creek, from whence many cargoes are shipped.

There is also constant communication by water and overland between Cabenda and the native town of Ponta da Linha, situated on the banks of the River Congo, about forty-five miles from its entrance, whence the greater portion of the goods landed at Cabenda are subsequently deposited for the purchase of slaves. Cabenda is of most importance to the slave-dealers, as the entrepôt for the supply of Ponta da Linha and other slave-factories with European manufactured goods; indeed, I have been credibly informed, that at the present moment there are in the factories at Cabenda, belonging to the house Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, at Rio Janeiro, goods of the invoice amount of 700 contos of reis, or about £140,000 sterling.

This place, I believe, is generally preferred by slave-dealers as their depôt on this part of the coast, both on account of the security of its bay and the facility of obtaining men and launches for speedy embarkation; but slaves are readily marched either to Molembo on the north, or the River Congo on the south, in order to evade the vigilance of the British cruisers, according as their attention appears directed to any one point.

In the same manner Black Point and Kilongo are of equal importance to Loango; and indeed the whole of this part of the coast, that is, between Mayemba and the River Congo, would seem to require a close and constant watch kept over it.

The total destruction of the barracoons and slave-factories at Ponta da Linha, Cabenda, and Ambriz, by her Majesty's ships *Madagascar* and *Waterwitch*, under the orders of Captain John Foote, in May and June, 1843, caused almost ruinous losses to the slave-dealers, and created a panic in these strongholds of slavery; but the good thus effected by these vigorous and judicious measures, has never been followed up, and consequently this odious traffic has long since revived in all its horrors.

At a distance of about fifteen miles from Ponta da Linha, is situated a large city within the dominions of the King of Congo, called Embomma, which is in reality the greatest emporium of the trade in slaves on this part of Africa; the natives of which place, according to my information, are at the present day in a state of the most deplorable ignorance and barbarity. At Embomma immense numbers of slaves are collected for sale from all parts of the interior, and are there purchased by the European slave-agents at Ponta da Linha, to be afterwards removed to the different points for embarkation on the coast.

According to information which I have received at various times from individuals who had opportunities of personal observation on the coast lying between the southern shores of the River Congo and Ambriz, there are numerous favourite haunts of slave-dealers possessing every facility for shipping slaves, especially a small town called Ambrizette, and the whole of the Bay of Funta, lying between the 6° 30' and the 7° 30' parallels of latitude. The slave-trade in this quarter is principally carried on by the firm of Jozé Bernardino da Sá, extensive slave-dealers in Rio Janeiro, whose agents are always most active and diligent at these places; goods to a considerable amount are now deposited at their factories at Ambriz, being generally brought over from the Brazils, and landed without any risk from American vessels freighted for that purpose.

The American barque *Z. D.* is at present discharging a valuable cargo of merchandize at Ambriz, on account of the said Jozé Bernardino da Sá and Co. The estimated annual export of slaves from Ambriz and its neighbourhood to the Brazils, amounts to upwards of 3000.

The only places of suspicion between Ambriz and this city, are



Marula and the Dande, and a small river called Lifunta, about midway between those points, well adapted for the purposes of slave-dealers.

In my despatch of the 10th of June, 1845, I had the honour to report to your lordship the apprehension and subsequent destruction of the Brazilian barque *Prima Vera*, whilst in the act of embarking 1500 slaves from the River Lifunta. In the range of the coast southward from St. Paul de Loanda, the points suitable in every respect for the embarkation of slaves are almost innumerable; amongst the most active, however, may be considered Point Palmarinhas and the beach stretching round and forming a deep bay to the southward called Sleepers' Bay, the River Coanza, Cape Ledo Rio Loango in 10° 18' south, Rio Lapada, Quicombo, Novo Redondo, Egito, in 10° 55' south, Lobito, in 12° 20' south, the vicinity of Benguela, and the coast thence to Point Salinas extending to 13° south latitude, or Loasch, to the southward of which I have not yet heard of any slave-trade having been carried on, although doubtless the means will soon be acquired, if necessary, to evade the British cruisers.

Four vessels laden with slaves, all embarked between these limits, have been captured during the past year, and information has reached me of three which have escaped; but of course it is impossible for me to say how many have really escaped, although I am thoroughly convinced, from reports upon which I can place reliance, that the slave-trade on this part of the coast is as brisk and extensive at the present moment as at any period whatever, and under circumstances of cruelty not less revolting than that by which this traffic has always been characterized.

I should add, that during the administration of his Excellency the present Governor-general of this province, I believe that few slavers have succeeded in embarking their cargoes at that point; but the facilities of intercourse between Point Palmarinhas and this city, and numerous other local circumstances, render this a secure seat for a covert and persevering slave-trade, even in defiance of the activity of the cruisers.

I subjoin a statement of the net profits arising from a cargo of 500 slaves calculated at the average of the market prices of the past year, making an ample allowance for freight and all accidental expenses, and abating 10 per cent. from the number shipped, for the proportion of deaths and casualties on the voyage:—

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| 500 slaves cost in Angola, at £3 10s. each                                   | £1,750        |
| Freight to the Brazils, at £17 each  | 8,500         |
| Provisions   | 600           |
| Expenses of landing  | 500           |
| Preparing slaves for sale  | 350           |
| <b>Total amount of outlay</b>  | <b>11,700</b> |
| 450 slaves landed and sold at £60 each, the price given for an average cargo | 27,000        |
| <b>Net profit arising to the slave-dealers</b>                               | <b>15,300</b> |

The intelligence upon which this statement is founded has been furnished on the most credible authority by different parties of whom I have made inquiries.

It is much to be feared, my lord, that with such inducements and temptations as these, the slave-trade will still be carried on in this part of Africa so long as the demand exists in slave-holding states, and any opportunity, however hazardous, be afforded the crafty miscreants engaged in it to satisfy their sordid love of gain derived from the inhuman barter; at all events it will be obvious that nothing short of the most decided and strenuous measures on the part of her Majesty's Government, by guarding the whole of this coast with an ample and efficient naval force, can hold out any prospects of complete success in the humane object which Great Britain has so long and so beneficently exerted herself to obtain.

In proportion to the number of slave-vessels captured and destroyed, the value of slaves will increase in Brazil; and the same measures thus calculated to enhance the value of slaves in the New World, by preventing their exportation from Africa, leaves the market there overstocked, and produces a proportionate reduction in their first cost; thus the profits become so enormous as to induce unprincipled speculators to run any risk in the traffic; and I believe I may with truth assert that at the present day, one successful trip out of six is attended with a fair return of capital to slave-dealers.

The chiefs of the principal towns and states of the interior profit by the transit of slaves through their territories in removing them

to the sea-coast, a duty or slave tax being levied on them by the chiefs of those independent tribes through whose dominions they must pass for sale. This system, I have been informed, is the source of constant and bitter feuds between the turbulent natives of Africa, and, as represented to me, may fairly be considered one amongst the many great evils arising from the trade in slaves.

Legitimate commerce cannot flourish where it has to encounter the malignant influence of the slave-trade.

It is with peculiar satisfaction, in laying this report before your lordship, that I feel myself called upon to refer to the honourable and efficient administration of his Excellency the present Governor-general of this province, Captain Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha, whose active co-operation in the suppression of the slave-trade whilst he held the command of the Portuguese squadron, I had the honour to bring under your lordship's notice twice during the past year.

His Excellency, animated by just and honourable principles, far superior to those of the generality of his predecessors, who have notoriously amassed fortunes by receiving douceurs from slave-dealers, has set an example to those around him, of integrity and good faith in the cause, by using his sincere endeavours in the discharge of his share of the duties which the two Governments have reciprocally pledged themselves to carry out.

But the disease, my lord, is too deeply seated to be eradicated by his Excellency's efforts alone, however faithful and persevering they may be, with the very inadequate means at his disposal, impeded also, as his Excellency is, by the poverty of his Government, the inefficiency of his subordinate authorities, and the views of all around him who have been accustomed to regard the slave-trade as a branch of legitimate commerce highly beneficial to the colony, and in the continuation of which traffic almost every one in the province is interested.—*Ibid.*, pp. 292—298.

#### BOA VISTA.

#### *Her Majesty's Commissioner to the Earl of Aberdeen.*

From the enclosed tables it appears that Commodore Jones' squadron has, in a period of twenty-two months, from the 1st of April, 1844, to the 31st of January, 1846, captured 108 slave vessels; of which eighty-seven were equipped for the trade, eighteen had 6515 slaves on board, and three, which had already embarked their slaves, landed them previous to capture. In this return are not included any slave-vessels which, although brought before the Courts of Sierra Leone, &c., were not captured by cruisers of Commodore Jones' squadron, and within the limits of his command.

In the Mixed Commission Courts of Sierra Leone and Loanda fifty-four vessels were adjudicated; fifty in the Vice-Admiralty Courts of Sierra Leone and St. Helena; two, captured under the Sardinian Treaty, were taken to Genoa for trial; one (the *Virginia*, alias *Felicidade*,) was capsized on her way to Sierra Leone, after having been recaptured from the murderers of her former prize-crew; and one, captured by her Majesty's brig *Alert*, with fifty-eight slaves on board, is still missing, but is supposed to have found her way safely to the coast of Brazil.

The prizes consisted severally of forty-eight Brazilian vessels, nineteen Spanish, five Portuguese, two Sardinian, and thirty-four which showed no colours, or which were not entitled to the protection of any flag.

The points where the 108 captures took place were as follows:—Sixteen westward of Cape Palmas, twenty-eight in the Bight of Benin, twenty-five on the coast south of the line, but north of Cape Negro; four were captured at sea, not specifically within the limits of any of the divisions of the station; and of the remaining thirty-five, mostly adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Courts, the place of capture is unknown.

Of the eighteen vessels captured with slaves on board, the tonnage of only thirteen has been ascertained, and that gives an average of four and a half slaves to a ton. The tonnage of only sixty-five, out of the 108 vessels captured, is yet known; and of them fifteen were under fifty tons, thirty others were under 100 tons, eleven others were under 150 tons, and the remaining nine were above the latter size.

A comparison of the captures made in the last nine months of 1844, with those made in the last nine months of 1845, shows a superiority of twenty-seven in the latter year, notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances in relation to the Brazilian slave-trade, which occurred during the more recent period.

Brazilian vessels still keep to the Bight of Benin, and to ports



south of the line, seldom venturing to the Spanish slave haunts westward of Cape Palmas, which continue to be the favourite resort of the Spanish slavers. Out of thirty-seven Brazilian vessels, whose position at the time of capture is known, three only were captured on the west side of Cape Palmas; whereas, of nineteen Spanish vessels, two only were captured in the Bight of Benin, four south of the line, one at sea, and twelve to the westward of Cape Palmas.—*Ibid.* pp. 322—327.

## ST. HELENA.

The number of slave cases adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of St. Helena, from the 1st of January to the 30th of September, 1846, was thirty-one—viz.,

|                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Under the Brazilian flag . . . . . | 18 |
| no flag . . . . .                  | 13 |
|                                    | —  |
|                                    | 31 |

Three of these slavers were captured with 1,666 slaves on board, of whom died previous to adjudication, 257, leaving 1,409 to be emancipated, the greater portion of which have been removed to the British West Indies.—*Ibid.* pp. 365—368.

It must be apparent from the foregoing extracts, that whatever falling off in the activity of the slave-trade is observed in any particular direction, it is to be attributed to anything rather than to the presence of cruisers on the coast of Africa. The demand for slaves is really the only thing which regulates the traffic. To break up that demand slavery must be abolished, and that is the great point to be arrived at by all abolitionists.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY IN THE  
FRENCH COLONIES.

We make the following extracts from a work recently published in Paris, entitled "*La Verité et les Faits ou l'Esclavage a nu, par M. France, Chef d'Escadron de Gendarmerie Coloniale.*" They will serve in some measure to show the deplorable condition of more than two hundred and fifty thousand of our fellow-creatures in the French colonies.

*Himitee* was the slave of M. de Souci, a planter, residing at Vauclin, in the island of Martinique. It appears, from the testimony of M. J. Georgin, the brigadier in command of the gendarme stationed at Vauclin, that her master had ordered her, when far advanced in pregnancy, to receive twenty-nine lashes with the cart-whip for some trifling offence. In order to give full effect to the blows, he had her fastened on to a bench, and then placed a small log of wood under her stomach. The result of this barbarity was that she gave premature birth to a dead child, and her own life was for a long while despaired of. Three of her teeth were broken out, she became blind of her right eye, and deaf of one ear. Her master was sentenced to *fifteen days' imprisonment*.

*Colombe*, the mother of an infant, four months old, complained to her master, Mr. O'Neil, that her task had been doubled, and that it was quite impossible for her to perform it. Furious with rage, he flew at her and kicked her and beat her so violently about the head and body, that the blood streamed from her in torrents. He then put her into the stocks until the overseer came, who, on his arrival, ordered her to receive twenty-nine lashes, the utmost number allowed by law.

*Jean Marie* was the slave of M. F. D. Duvergé, of Gros-Morne. He came to the police-office one day to complain that his master had given him *fifty lashes* with the cart whip. He said that he sat down or stood up, the position was painful to him, in consequence of the blows which he had received. He added, that his master, after having inflicted the flogging, put one foot on his neck, whilst with the other he kicked him about the stomach and back.

*Severin, Jean Baptiste Charlery, and Armand*, died in consequence of the punishments they had received. The surgeons were called in, and they declared that these men had died of inflammation of the bowels accompanied by dropsy. M. France, commenting on these cases, observes, "I have remarked, since my arrival in the colony, that nearly all the Negroes who have died after receiving excessive punishment, have been stated by the physicians to have yielded to attacks of inflammation of the bowels, or of dropsy."

Suicide is very common among the slaves. M. France cites the cases of *Gustache* and *Pascal*, two Negroes who put a voluntary

end to their existence, being rendered desperate by the bad treatment which they had received.

*Pépel*, the slave of M. du Percin, of Case-Pelote, was brought one day to the police-office, with an iron collar, with four branches, round his neck. Shortly afterwards, a young girl of eighteen or nineteen, named *Vitalis*, was brought to the same place. She had an enormous iron collar round her neck, and attached to it was a chain of iron, nearly four feet in length, and weighing upwards of eleven pounds, which she was obliged to drag after her.

*Virgile*, a slave belonging to M. le Baron de l'Horme, of Lamenten, near Fort Royal, was sent to prison for three months *because he did not know how to flog his comrades properly*.

M. France once received a letter from the owner of Plantation Kirwanne, requesting him to send a detachment of gendarmes to punish five or six of his slaves, for the sake of example, and for the maintenance of order.

We now come to our last case, which will show the fearful consequences of resisting the orders of a savage master. *Simon Valentin* was a slave belonging to Plantation Saint Jacques. He was one day employed in tending the furnace in the sugar-house. The overseer came up, and because the fire happened to be rather low, he gave Simon five or six lashes with the whip. The next morning, poor Simon did not get to work till about a minute after the others had begun; the overseer ordered him to receive a severe flogging. Simon thinking the punishment very disproportionate to the crime, made some resistance, and in the scuffle which ensued, the overseer got a knock from Simon's hoe. For this offence the poor fellow received twenty-nine lashes, and was sent to prison for three months, with hard labour.

## ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

## AN AUCTION.

While travelling at the south, a short time since, one day, as I was passing through a noted city, attention was arrested by a concourse of people upon the public square.

Soon I saw two men coming through the crowd attended by a female. They entered the ring around the stand. The sequel showed them to be an auctioneer, the unfortunate merchant, and the more unfortunate young lady, for slave she could not be. The auctioneer stepped upon the stand and ordered her to follow. She dropped her head upon her heaving bosom, but she moved not. Neither did she weep—her emotions were too deep for tears. The merchant stood near me. I attentively watched his countenance. 'Twas that of a father for the loss of an only daughter. Daughter he had not; but I understand that he had intended to adopt her, who, instead of being now free, was doomed to perpetual slavery. He appeared to have a humane heart. With tears in his eyes he said, "Helen, you must obey—I can protect you no longer." I could bear no more—my heart struggled to free itself from the human form. I turned my eyes upwards—the flag lay listlessly by the pole, for not a breeze had leave to stir. I thought I could almost see the spirits of the liberty martyrs, whose blood had once stained that soil, and hear them sigh over the now desecrated spot.

I turned to look for the doomed. She stood upon the auction stand. In stature she was of the middle size; slim and delicately built. Her skin was lighter than many a northern *brunette*, and her features were round, with thin lips. Indeed, many thought no black blood coursed in her veins. Now despair sat on her countenance. O! I shall never forget that look. "Good heavens!" ejaculated one of the two fathers, as he beheld the features of Helen, "is that beautiful lady to be sold?"

Then fell upon my ear the auctioneer's cry, "How much is said for this beautiful healthy slave girl—a real albino—a fancy girl for any gentleman? (!) How much? How much? Who bids?" "Five hundred dollars," "eight hundred," "one thousand," were soon bid by different purchasers. The last was made by the friends of the merchant, as they wished to assist him to retain her. At first no one seemed disposed to raise the bid. The crier then read from a paper in his hand, "She is intelligent, well-informed, easy to communicate, a first-rate instructress." "Who raises the bid?" This had the desired effect—"Twelve hundred"—"fourteen"—"sixteen," quickly followed. He read again—"She is a devoted Christian, sustains the best of morals, and is perfectly trusty." This raised the bids to two thousand dollars, at which she was struck



off to the gentleman in favour of whom was the prosecution. Here closed one of the darkest scenes in the book of time.

This was a southern auction—an auction at which the bones, muscles, sinews, blood, and nerves, of a young lady of nineteen, sold for one thousand dollars; her improved intellect for six hundred more; and her Christianity—the person of Christ in his follower—four hundred more.—*Liberty Press.*

#### NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

UNITED STATES.—At the close of the recent session of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in Cincinnati, a convention was called to form an Anti-slavery Presbyterian Church. Rev. John Rankin, of Ohio, well known in the west, was called to the chair. The following are the remarks of Mr. Rankin, as published in the *Cincinnati Herald* :—

He showed that the Presbyterian Church of the United States, associated with those who were guilty of sins; that as an organization they refused to act against those who were in the practice of sin; that by continuation in the body, there would be a necessity of meeting in common with those who held slaves; and that it was so corrupt, so much in error, that the command of God applied to this case with peculiar force.

He showed that the course of the General Assembly of the Presbytery in regard to slavery, had been bad from the beginning, and was growing worse continually, showing that the common argument of staying in the church to reform it, was unsound. The continued influence of a great body would, like the water drip on the rock, at last wear away the fresh and free spirit of him who subjected himself to its influence, and he might strive and toil, and cry aloud and spare not, the adverse influence of evil would be too strong, and the chances were, that he would become silent and cold, before the organization would become pure and holy.

He drew a vivid picture of slavery as an institution, to show that it could not be tolerated without incurring guilt, and concluded by saying, that because the Presbyterian Church tolerated these things, because its course was evil and only evil continually, therefore it has been determined by a few of those who would not that this sin should rest on their heads, to set up a new church, which would not be a partaker of this guilt.

The following declaration was adopted, to be prefixed to the form of government or the church.

I. God has made of one blood all nations of men; consequently, all human beings endowed with rationality have an equal right to freedom.

II. The holding of human beings as property, is destructive of all the ends for which man was created, and endowed with rational powers, and consequently one of the greatest evils that can be inflicted upon human nature, highly immoral, entirely inconsistent with Christian character and profession.

III. No person holding slaves, or advocating the rightfulness of slaveholding, can be a member of this body.

IV. That no Church, Presbytery, nor Synod, tolerating slaveholders, or the advocates of slaveholding in its communion, can be a constituent part of this body.—*Emancipator.*

#### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MONDAY, AUGUST 2nd, 1847.

Our readers will find in the present number of the *Reporter* a large mass of evidence respecting the slave trade, drawn exclusively from the papers recently laid before Parliament. They will find in that evidence abundant confirmation of the ground taken by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that the slave-trade can never be abolished by an armed police; and that other and better measures must be taken before that gigantic evil be effectually overcome. The documents alluded to principally refer to the extent of the slave-trade in 1845. In 1846, it increased considerably, both with Brazil, and the Spanish colonies, especially the former. From the best evidence that can be obtained, the importations of Slaves into Brazil, could not have fallen far short of 50,000 during the last year, with the prospect of increase during the present year. The demand for new slaves, and not the presence of armed cruisers on the African coast, regulates the extent of the traffic.

On those parts of the African coast where the strictest blockade has taken place, one or two effects have followed, either that the slaves cooped up in the barracoons for shipment, have been destroyed, that is to say, slaughtered, because they were too dangerous, or too expensive to be kept, or their price has fallen to a very low rate indeed. The consequence is, that the slave-traders gain both in the selling and the purchasing of these unhappy creatures. In an emphatic sense, they buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest markets.

It is impossible to read from year to year, the diplomatic correspondence between the Government of this country and foreign powers, without being convinced that there is something essentially wrong in the whole matter, and that, tested by their own principles of action, the Government has either gone too far, or not far enough, to put down the slave-trade. To expend a million per annum in vain attempts at suppression, to expose the lives of our seamen to pestilence, battle, and death, in pursuit of an unattainable object, is certainly not wise nor humane. We affirm that the Government has the power of striking an effectual blow at this nefarious traffic, if it can only be induced to exercise it. The attempt to suppress the slave-trade on the coast of Africa has been, and will continue to be a great failure. The Government must deal with the evil in Brazil, and the Spanish colonies. There the blow must be struck under existing treaties; that is to say, the liberation of slaves illicitly introduced into these countries, contrary to the stipulations of their treaties, must be secured. And that we believe can be done, without the manifestation of a spirit of hostility. Brazil and Spain are bound, not less by their own laws, than by international obligations to effect this great object, and Great Britain is the guarantee that it shall be done. Other means are also within the power of the Government. These we have already pointed out, and we call upon all our friends to urge them on the consideration and action of the Government.

We take this opportunity of correcting an error into which Lord Palmerston fell in the late debate on the slave-trade. His lordship is represented to have said that the Anti-Slavery Society demanded the recal of the cruisers from Africa, on the same ground that they were opposed to the existence of a standing army and navy. No doubt there is a large body of its most earnest and conscientious supporters, the Society of Friends, for instance, who would take that ground; but the Society as such, has never done so. They have shown the impolicy of the mode of suppressing the slave-trade, by exhibiting its inefficiency; and have demonstrated, that whilst that mode has scarcely lessened the extent, it has undoubtedly increased the horrors of the traffic. What then, they ask, can be gained by its continuance?

The West India Body are growing bold. Not content with the vast power which they possess in the Colonial Legislatures, and the influence they have secured in the Colonial Office—a power and an influence which, in our judgment, are dangerous to the liberty of the people—they are actually advancing claims for compensation for alleged injuries received by the Act of Emancipation, and the measures consequent thereupon. Lord George Bentinck has been selected as the champion of their claims. The following parliamentary extract will explain the course proposed to be taken :—

LORD G. BENTINCK presented a petition from the magistrates, proprietors, and planters of St. George's, in the island of Jamaica, representing that the experiment of the abolition of slavery, and the substitution of free labour in the British West Indian Islands, had entirely failed, in so far that the gloomy anticipation which had been formed by the proprietors at the time of the emancipation had been fulfilled; pointing out the inconsistency of which the British Government was guilty in admitting the slavegrown cotton of America, while expressing a horror of slavery in the West Indies; enumerating the sacrifices which the slaveholders had made in 1838 on the distinct understanding that British protection would be continued to be extended to them; complaining of a breach of compact; stating that they had now expended the whole of the compensation money they had received, that in addition they had exhausted the larger portion of their own capital, and that they were too poor to import labourers free from Africa or from the East Indies to supply the place of the slaves they had formerly possessed; and, in conclusion, praying that the house would appoint a committee to inquire how far the interests of private property in the West Indies had been affected by the Act of Emancipation, with a view to obtaining for them a just protection in English markets, against competing slave-grown produce, or to making



further compensation in grants of money, or in the importation of free labourers at the cost of the British nation.

We admit the inconsistency of the Government in the introduction of slave grown produce, and would have excluded it from the British Market, had it been in our power, not, however, on the low ground of supporting West India interests by protection, but on the higher ground of humanity and duty.

The West India body, however, have no right to complain of the proceedings of the Government in the introduction of slave-grown produce, for they were parties to it either by direct support, or indirect connivance. If they now suffer, it is in virtue of the compact they have made with the Government. To talk of compensation is absurd. What they aim at is to transfer from the colonial treasuries, which they have well nigh ruined, the cost of the importation of labourers from Africa and India, to the consolidated fund of this country.

The grand scheme now is to obtain an indefinite supply of labourers from Africa, no matter by what means, at the cost of the British public. We are glad that the West India body are about to transfer the contest respecting immigration from the colonies to the mother country, as it will give the friends of Africa and of the emancipated classes, a better opportunity of understanding and defeating their crooked and grasping policy, than they have yet had. It is understood that Lord George Bentinck will move for a committee of inquiry into the whole question, on the assembling of the next Parliament.

In another part of our paper will be found an important communication from British Guiana relative to the proceedings of the legislative body of that colony, which in contempt, not only of the rights of the people, but in opposition to the instructions received from home, have been voting away the public money with a reckless extravagance, unequalled, we believe, in the annals of colonial legislation. One Dr. Ranken, a planter as well as physician, has written a pamphlet to prove that the colony is ruined—to him they have voted 1,000 dollars for the demonstration. Certain honourable members, wishing to have the luxury of an ice-house, have prevailed upon the financial representatives to vote them 10,000 dollars for that purpose. To carry Lord Grey's notable scheme of education into effect, the same body has voted another 10,000 dollars; and an additional 10,000 dollars to the parish vestries, to use or to waste as they may think proper. In addition to these sums, 150,000 dollars are voted for immigration purposes, over and above the loan bill for one half of a million of pounds sterling, which has again been re-enacted in a most objectionable form. Mr. Butts, one of the Court of Policy, thus speaks of it, in its present form. He says, under it, the commissioners have, First, the power to make the loan perpetual—to borrow and pay money when the first bond is paid off;—Second, to depreciate the bonds to the lowest point, so that at the present state of the money market, these bonds of £100 each may be sold for £50 each; and Third, to exact payment from the colonists of interest without limit, so that it might be ten per cent. per annum, or even more. The *Record*, in commenting on this transaction observes—that the ordinance as it stands will make the colonists and their posterity servants to the lenders for ever: that it will sacrifice to the speculators in the bonds a quarter of a million of pounds sterling, and will oblige them to pay an interest on the sum borrowed of £50,000 per annum. To crown the whole, this loan ordinance, or rather the measures associated with it, were brought in and passed in the course of one day, against the protest of Mr. Butts who could not obtain even a few hours' delay for the consideration of a measure of such vital importance to the welfare of British Guiana. Will Lord GREY give it the sanction of the Crown? We shall see.

It is deeply to be lamented that so few public men take an interest in colonial affairs. In the late House of Commons there were not, perhaps, half a score members who knew the names, or could give any intelligible account of the British emancipated colonies. The consequence of this ignorance was lamentable. Questions of the deepest moment were allowed to pass unheeded. A solitary question, and an official answer, which meant nothing, or was meant to conceal a purpose or a fact, were all that were allowed to transpire. No one interested himself about matters affecting the liberty, the property, or the happiness of hundreds of thousands of our colonial fellow-subjects. They might be the

victims of the basest injustice, they might groan under the greatest oppression, they might endure the greatest wrongs, and no honourable member be found to plead their cause, or expose their enemies. We trust, however, in the next Parliament there will be found earnest and good men, who will master the necessary details of colonial affairs, so as to bring them with clearness and precision before the Legislature, that, at least, some curb may be put on the wasteful extravagance and oppressive enactments which now characterize the legislation of the local assemblies and the projects of the Colonial Office.

We are forcibly reminded by the return of the day of the memorable first of August, 1838, when the long-enslaved Negroes of the British Colonies first enjoyed the blessing of unrestricted liberty, and rejoiced in the conscious dignity and privileges of freemen. In referring to this glorious fact, the first emotion we feel is that of lively gratitude to God, whose hand was so conspicuous in their deliverance from the horrors and degradation of slavery. Without the divine blessing, the labours of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, and a Buxton, would have been vain; and none felt this more than these illustrious philanthropists. They sought that blessing, and the confidence they felt that it would not be withholden, gave intensity to their zeal, strength to their purposes, and courage to their hearts. It was this which enabled them to labour through evil report and through good report, until the great work to which they devoted their lives was fully accomplished.

Next to devout gratitude, we feel deep sympathy with the emancipated slave, in the joy with which he regards his new condition and circumstances. No longer a mere chattel or implement of labour, the property of another, he feels, this day, that he is emphatically his own. The claims of justice and humanity must henceforth be respected in his person; the sacred and social relations in which he stands to others, have been pronounced inviolable; and now, with his wife and his children, in his own happy home, or mingling with his friends in the public festival, he can rejoice in his freedom; and we rejoice with him.

To us it is a source of unmingled pleasure to be able to say that, with the exception of one or two slight outbreaks, occasioned by the impolitic conduct of their former masters, the emancipated slaves have, during a period of nine years, conducted themselves in a manner most praiseworthy to themselves, and satisfactory to their friends. They respect the laws; they love order. They have proved both thrifty and industrious, and have given the most satisfactory evidence, not only that they can take care of but can raise themselves to respectability and independence.

Their enemies, to gratify their own selfish purposes, continue, however, to malign them, and are earnestly endeavouring, *per fas aut nefas*, to deprive them of the safeguards of liberty, the wise and wholesome laws of 1838, which regulated the relations between them and their masters, and provided for a pure administration of justice. Deprived as they are, for the most part, of the means of defence against these encroachments on liberty, be it the duty of British Abolitionists to watch over their rights, and to maintain them in all their extent and integrity.

#### BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The Stoke Newington Ladies' Anti-slavery Association again solicit their friends who are interested in the abolition of American slavery, to aid them in contributing to the annual bazaar, to be held in Boston, N.E., in the 12th month next, in connexion with the Massachusetts Abolition Society. They feel much pleasure in stating, that the contributions sent in former years both to the Boston and Philadelphia fairs, have met with a ready sale; and the friends in America have been cheered in their important labours, by the help and sympathy afforded on this side of the Atlantic.

A few articles it is not desirable to send, not being suited to American taste; these are screens, card racks, and infants' caps; card baskets are used; and bags are carried, quite small and of dark colours. The funds raised by the sale are intended to be employed for lectures and circulating intelligence through the press, being very much needed for these objects. Contributions should be sent, carriage free, by the 10th month, and will be thankfully received by the following friends:—

ANN DARTON, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London.

ANN RUST, Albion-road, Stoke Newington.

S. A. ALEXANDER, Church-street, Stoke Newington.



## Poetry.

## THE SLAVE'S APPEAL.

Christian mother! when thy prayer  
Trembles on the twilight air,  
And thou asketh God to keep,  
In their waking and their sleep,  
Those whose love is more to thee  
Than the wealth of land or sea,  
Think of those who wildly mourn  
For the loved ones from them torn.

Christian daughter, sister, wife!  
Ye who wear a guarded life—  
Ye whose bliss hangs not, like mine,  
On a tyrant's word or sign,  
Will ye hear with careless eye,  
Of the wild despairing cry  
Rising up from human hearts,  
As their latest bliss departs?

Blest ones! whom no hands on earth  
Dares to wrench from home and hearth:  
Ye, whose hearts are sheltered well  
By affection's holy spell,  
Oh, forget not those for whom  
Life is naught but changeless gloom,  
O'er whose days of cheerless sorrow,  
Hope may paint no brighter morrow.

## Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—July 9th.

## THE SLAVE TRADE.

It was proposed that the sum of £100,000 should be granted to defray the expense connected with the capture of slave-trading vessels.

Mr. BORTHWICK said that the state of the House and the period of the session forbade his entering at length into the great question connected with this vote; he therefore would content himself with touching briefly upon a few of its leading features, and then leave it in the hands of Government. The object which he had in view was, to relieve the pressure of a heavy burden on the finances of this country, to avert a vast amount of evil which the present course of things inflicted upon the inhabitants of Africa, and to remove from the path of human civilization an impediment which, for the time, appeared to be insurmountable. England had much to answer for with reference to the people of Africa. The honourable gentleman then went on to show to what extent England had participated in the slave-trade. It was not until 1794 that the House of Commons took a step towards the ultimate abolition of the slave-trade, by passing a bill which prohibited the sale of slaves to foreigners. The House of Lords, however, rejected the bill; and it was not until—in consequence of the famous agitation headed by Wilberforce and Fox, and countenanced by Pitt—the anti-slavery feeling took such strong hold of the public mind, that the Legislature was obliged to grapple with the question; and finally, in 1807, the slave-trade, as far as Great Britain was concerned, was made felony. Since 1807 we had made various treaties with our allies for the purpose of putting down the traffic generally; but, unfortunately, the effect of those treaties had been to aggravate greatly the evils of the slave-trade. The number of a slave cargo was at that time thought enormous if it was 620; the mortality was estimated at from three to ten per cent.; yet the statement of that fact in 1788 roused all England, and in consequence of the indignation of the country, the traffic was put an end to. But the noble lord knew the mortality during the middle passage at the present time, caused by the increased vigilance of the English cruisers, was 600 and 700 per cent. Out of 600 slaves taken on board on the coast, not more than 100 or 200 were landed alive. That dreadful increase of mortality was in consequence of a mistaken humanity on the part of the people of England, who were taxed to the amount of £1,000,000 a-year for the expense of putting down the traffic, for which no good effect was obtained. On the contrary, a certain impediment was thrown in the way of African civilization. The accounts of Africa, written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, speak of the country before it was resorted to by the slave-dealers as comparatively civilized. The people of Guinea understood commerce, and to a certain degree art flourished among them. He knew not how they could better begin to put an end to the slave-trade than by putting an end to its cruelties, and relieving Africa of the girdle of horrors with which they now encircled it; if they allowed something like free intercourse between Africa and the continent of Europe, the Negro population must insensibly imbibe some portion of the spirit of liberty. Even Sir T. F. Buxton, who, during a long life, was the zealous

advocate of the abolition of the slave-trade, told them that all their expenditure of money and of the lives of their best and bravest had but increased the evil. Knowing this, he should not appeal to the noble lord in vain to re-consider the treaties which, in an evil hour for the character of Great Britain and the fate of Africa, his predecessor had concluded with France and other foreign powers, for the suppression of the slave-trade. The service was a revolting one to the navy engaged in it; and it had been stated to Lord Aberdeen, that the blockade never deterred the traders from entering on the traffic. He had thus briefly stated three points; first, that which the people of England would consider the least important, if any good result were effected by it, that the expense of the service to this country was £1,000,000 a-year, spent with no advantage, but causing a greater destruction of human life, and retarding the progress of human civilization. Secondly, it was proved the loss of life among the officers and men employed was very large. The third and most important consideration was, that for every thousand Negroes sold into slavery, six or seven times that number died in the most excruciating agony. Such was the result they had attained after the sacrifice of millions of money, and the expending of hundreds of lives on the part of Great Britain. On these grounds he sought for the abrogation of the treaties entered into with foreign powers, in reference to the slave-trade.

Lord PALMERSTON.—I entirely agree with the honourable gentleman that this country does owe a great debt of reparation to Africa. It is quite true that England was originally a culprit in introducing this abomination to the shores of that quarter of the world; but it will be some atonement to remember that if England was among the first to commit the sin, England also led the way in a noble and generous crusade, that we not only abolished our own slave-trade, but that we also emancipated our own slaves. And, whatever are the differences of opinion that may prevail as to the slave-trade, one truth ought never to be lost sight of, that the trade can never be entirely and permanently put an end to until the condition of slavery itself shall be abolished. I differ with the honourable gentleman as to the comparison he has drawn in regard to the cruelties of the middle passage before the abolition of the slave-trade of England, and since this country has adopted the vigorous measures which have recently been pursued to check that dreadful offence. I do not, however, mean to deny, that the cruelties now inflicted on the Negroes on the passage amount to anything that the imagination can conceive, and it is impossible to exaggerate the state of suffering which the wretched slaves are forced to undergo. And when you come to consider the deeds of violence and brutality which are committed in capturing the prisoners, the sufferings they sustain in the march to the coast, their tortures on the passage, and the miseries to which they are to be consigned when they arrive in America, you may with truth assert that which I took the liberty of stating on a former occasion, that, as I believe, if all the crimes the human race ever committed were summed together in one black aggregate, they would not amount to the heinousness of this one horrible sin. We are, then, all agreed as to the abomination of the trade; the honourable gentleman avowedly only condemns the measures that have been adopted for the purpose of suppressing it, and he contends that our efforts at prevention have only increased the evil. He would be, if I rightly comprehend him, for removing all the cruisers, abrogating all the treaties entered into by the British with foreign governments, and giving freedom to legitimate trade. Thus, he commences his conversion to the principles of free trade by demanding a free trade in slaves. I will not accept the conversion on such terms as these. It would be easy to show that that freedom of trade, instead of abolishing, would extend the slave-trade most enormously. It required very little demonstration to show the justness of the conclusion to which I have come. What is the price of a Negro in Brazil and Cuba? Has that price increased or has it not? Every one knows that it has increased enormously, for that is the very argument of those who wish us to discontinue our precautions. They say, that seeing the great profits of this trade, and the temptations it in this way holds out, we can never put it down in the manner hitherto tried. They point out that all the risk is repaid, if there is landed one cargo out of three or four, or one out of five or six, and that we pay the slave-trader; but, translate that into common English, and it means simply that the supply falls infinitely short of the demand. It means nothing more; it means only the number of Negroes brought into America is so much less than the demand for them, that the profit is great enough to make one cargo landed out of six pay the person who has undertaken the infamous traffic. What is that withholding that required supply? Why, our preventive measures, your cruisers, your treaties with European powers. Depend upon it, if the measures now pursued were to cease to be adopted, you would have the coast swarming with such a number of slavers, pirates, and ruffians of every sort and kind, that there would be no safety for legitimate trade. Moreover, the profits which the native chiefs in that case would derive from the trade in man would supersede all inducement to traffic in any other way; your legitimate trade ceasing, your chances of African civilization would cease also, and the coast then would be a sort of hell upon earth, uninterrupted by any intercourse with civilized beings. That would be the necessary and inevitable consequence. [The noble lord then read the



evidence of certain parties which tended, to show that the slave-trade had been carried on with less success since the operations of the cruisers.]

It is quite true, that the best method of putting an end to the slave-trade, and effecting an abolition of slavery in those countries where it exists, is to strike at the origin of the trade, and to persuade the native chiefs who now give us slaves, to abstain from such traffic, and employ themselves in a legitimate commerce. And that is one of the methods which is in progress of trial. I am also convinced, that if the Government of Spain were to exercise a rigid authority over the Government of Cuba, that trade would soon speedily cease; but, unluckily, Spain weak even at the extremity of the Peninsula, has still less power at Cuba. It is a matter of notoriety, that the Government of Cuba, and all the superior officers, derive a very large pecuniary profit from the importation of slaves. Brazil has been a great offender in this matter. I am sorry to say that there is no improvement in that country; on the contrary, there has been a great aggravation of the crime on the part of the Government of Brazil. According to a calculation, which I am afraid falls short of the truth, it is supposed that, in the year 1846, 42,000 Negroes were imported into the empire of Brazil. I much fear that the real number has been greater; for the fact is, that in Brazil there is not a man, from the highest to the lowest—and I, of course speak of the subjects, and not of the Emperor,—who does not in some way or other, directly or indirectly, encourage, connive at, or sanction, this most detestable trade. That trade, it has been said, affords part of the foul emoluments of many of those employed under the Brazilian Government. There is no doubt that Brazil is bound by treaty to prevent those parties, to whom I have alluded, as subjects of her own empire, from engaging in the slave-trade, and it is also true, that that Government is, day after day, violating the engagements, and committing a breach of the contract entered into on this subject between the two crowns. I deny then, in the first place, that the expense incurred by this country is so great as the hon. gentleman represents it to be. It is no doubt considerable, and I do not mean to underrate it; but whatever that expense may be, I am satisfied that the people of this country will think it is an expense well incurred, if it is the means, as I say it is, of protecting thousands upon thousands of our fellow creatures from the miseries of slavery. I am sure that every man will admit, that while we are greatly diminishing the slave-trade by the exertions we are at present making to restrict and limit it, we should be guilty of a greater offence than we at first committed when we commenced the slave-trade, if we should abandon those exertions, because we, with our eyes open, should be letting loose on the continent of Africa an accumulation of misery and horrors which it would be above the power of any gentleman to describe and which it would make every man shudder to contemplate. I trust, therefore, the House will consider this vote and those which are to follow.

Mr. HUME, if the noble lord was correct in the statements he had made, he would agree with him; but he denied that he had put the case on a proper footing. The system we were pursuing cost the country £1,000,000 annually, exclusive of the loss of life, and yet it was not successful in the accomplishing the object. The Anti-slavery Society of this country were now convinced that the system was attended with great mischief. Even the noble lord himself did not venture to say that it would succeed. All he said was, that it was putting a check upon the slave-trade. Their only remedy was to allow those who had capital in the West Indies to go to the coast of Africa, and buy the slaves, and then place them in the West Indies as freemen. Let vessels be sent to the coast of Africa to procure labourers.

Mr. HAWES.—A Government steamer has been already employed.

Mr. HUME would ask, what was the use of one steamer going perhaps only now and then for such a purpose? The business should be done on a great scale, and let them redeem the slaves when they were brought to the West Indies.

Lord PALMERSTON said, his hon. friend had referred to the opinions of the Anti-slavery Society. He was aware that the Anti-slavery Society had of late years been in favour of a cessation of the measures now pursued; but he begged to remind his hon. friend that the same class of men also entertained the opinion that the best mode of defending the country would be to get quit of both our army and navy. (No, no.) The noble lord then showed the impracticability of the scheme proposed by the hon. member for Montrose, that of purchasing slaves and making them free in the West Indies, which he proved would tend to increase the slave-trade.

The vote was then agreed to.

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY A FRIEND IN AMERICA, TO JOSEPH STURGE, ON THE PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY FEELING AND SENTIMENT.

Dated 14th 6 Mo. 1847.

I attended the late Yearly Meeting in New York, excepting the last day, and a highly satisfactory one it was. A remarkable change has occurred in the views and feelings of many Friends there. Thou art doubtless aware that the Quarterly Meeting of Fannington has long been

decidedly anti-slavery; and for many years it introduced the subject of slavery into the Yearly Meeting, much to the annoyance of many Friends, and to its own loss of standing and caste. It has, however, stood unmoved, and continued to act faithfully. Three years ago it forwarded a strong minute, setting forth the impropriety of using the productions of slavery, and voting for slave-holders and pro-slavery men. That minute led to the preparation, by the meeting for sufferings, of the excellent essay on the disuse of slave-produce, which was adopted last year by the Yearly Meeting, and has, I believe, produced much good. This year the Quarterly Meeting sent up another minute, in relation to the duties of our society on the subject of slavery, in view of the efforts of the slave power to extend its influence, and to procure additional territory by means of a cruel war. The Yearly Meeting received the minute very favourably, and it was referred to the serious and close attention of the meeting for sufferings, not, as in former times, to stop discussion, but with a sincere desire that some efficient action should result.

R. M. takes strong ground in favour of anti-slavery movements. Near the close of the sitting on third day afternoon, he read a notice of the meeting of the Free Produce Association, to be held in the meeting house, at half-past seven in the evening. He then expressed his views in favour of the association, recommending Friends to join it. F. W., I. T., M. C. H., and several other Friends, followed in the same strain; and the Yearly Meeting was brought under a deep and lively exercise on the subject. Thou mayest well suppose that I rejoiced in witnessing the progress of this cause, where, but a few years since, it met with strong opposition, and the meeting-house was refused for a meeting of those interested in promoting it. The meeting in the evening was largely attended, the house nearly filled. L. M. H., Dr. T., and other Friends from New England, were present. It was concluded to establish a free-produce store in New York, and nearly 2000 dollars have been subscribed towards a capital.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM JOHN G. WHITTIER TO JOSEPH STURGE, ON THE PROSPECTS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Dated Amesbury, Massachusetts, 14th 6 Mo. 1847.

Our next session of Congress will be one of the deepest interest to the anti-slavery movement. The question of excluding slavery from all new territories will be up for decision. A great portion of the northern representatives will stand firm; and I certainly hope for the best.

The slaveholders lately attempted to carry off a slave family, who had escaped to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a village in the interior of the state, where, when I visited it a few years ago, the people were bitterly pro-slavery. The attempt produced a great excitement, the people came to the rescue, and a fight took place, in which two out of three of the slaves made their escape. I am sorry to learn that one of the slaveholders was badly wounded. It is said that the southern students in the Methodist College in the town did their best to help the Negro drivers to secure their prey. Professor Mc Clintock, of the college, is likely to lose his place, for having, under the impulse of humanity, urged the people to save the blacks from the fate which threatened them.

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF A CORRESPONDENT ON THE DOINGS OF THE COURT OF POLICY IN BRITISH GUIANA.

Georgetown, 18th June, 1847.

You will be surprised to find a sort of reformer has risen up in the Carolina Court, in the person of Mr. R. Butts. Neither he nor his party like to be associated with the reformers who have been trying to do something, but failed. Indeed, their spirit toward those who are supposed to be intimate with the Anti-Slavery Society may be pretty well gathered from the last *Times*, that of Wednesday, 17th, where the name of the Anti-Slavery Society is introduced. Yet it is plain, both from the course he is taking in the court, and from the strangely-like-reform-style of the *Guiana Times* itself, that their eyes have begun to open, the shoe has begun to pinch, and even they have begun to cry for a reformed constitution! The most that I can do at this time is to refer you to the debates (?) of the Court of Policy, and especially the Carolina Court, as reported in the *Times*, together with the observations of the editor on some of them. Only think of taxes to be raised for one year of nearly a million and a quarter of dollars! One hundred and fifty thousand of which for immigration this year! Only think of the immense expenses of hospitals for sick Coolies. Only think of the monstrous bills introduced, read a first, second, and third time IN ONE DAY; one in the Court of Policy, without a single remark! the other in the Carolina Court, as I have noticed at large in the record. Only think of the treatment of our petitions, and the uselessness of doing it, except to give the court an opportunity of showing its true character. Only think of the unworthy use which the Governor, the Attorney-General, and members of the court, make of Lord Grey's name, too unwise to blind the eyes of the people, too easily blinded, and too unwilling to think those their friends who attempt to open them! Reformers are discouraged, with nothing to stimulate them, except to fall a sacrifice to the general good; too thankless a deed to induce many to venture. Mr.



Butts, you will have observed, moved for a reform in the constitution in the combined court. Governor Light put his veto upon it, and quashed the discussion, by the advice of Attorney-General Arrindell. The merchants here are in a turmoil on account of four per cent. being put, as ad valorem duty, on all British goods not specifically taxed! which goods were before declared free from such duty. They petitioned the court, but have been refused; they are now, so I am informed, drawing up a petition to the Colonial Minister. This is good so far. They could not or would not stir before, but the court is making reformers of them. Possibly, however, their petition may not reach the Colonial Minister yet; for who cannot see the scheme of passing bills just as the mail is leaving, in order that the people may know nothing and do nothing till after the bills are on their way to Downing-street; and who does not admire the policy of shutting out from the office all petitions that do not reach forty-eight hours before the mail leaves, that the Minister may not be in possession of the sentiments of the petitioners, till too late to be of any avail? Thus entirely are we under the domination of the parties in power, that every attempt to effect anything seems like beating the air. Reformers are still looking at what is being done by the extravagance of the ruling powers, and the effect of that extravagance on those who stood aloof when reform was the order of the day.

You will see that the banks will not brook to have any tax laid on them; and Rose and Croal being directors and chairmen of the banks—Rose especially, as manager of the colonial bank—and also being ruling members in courts, would not suffer the motion for taxing the bank to proceed.

Perhaps in reading over the debates in the *Times*, you will wonder why Mr. Butts was not supported in his endeavours by petitions and memorials from without. I think two reasons may remove the wonder. First, the people are sick of the manner in which their petitions are treated in the courts here. Second, the leading men among the reformers find it very up-hill work to push on unsustained by numbers. Third, there is little sympathy between the former class of reformers and those now springing into life; their principles differ in some important points. Fourth, the party whom Mr. Butts represents, though they put him forth *secretly* as their man, yet are ashamed to back him openly, after their shabby indifference to reform till recently. Fifth, many favourable to a new state of things, and groaning under the present, are so completely in the power of the banks, of one of which Rose is the controlling power here, and of the other of which, Croal is the chairman! And in the face of all, Croal has the hardihood to assert that the people are satisfied with things as they are! And, really, when you think how difficult it is to move the masses, even after they are aware of their situation, one can hardly be surprised.

#### UNITED STATES.

#### THE AMERICAN OLD SCHOOL ASSEMBLY AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

##### DEBATE ON FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

On Tuesday morning, May 25, the Committee on Foreign Correspondence reported replies to the letters from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and that of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. The answers being read, the Rev. Mr. Kerr, of Ohio, asked that the foreign letters might also be read, to afford the Assembly an intelligent view of the whole subject. The Moderator decided, that the letters having been referred, it would now be out of order to read them. An appeal was taken from this decision, and the Chair was sustained. Then a motion was made to reconsider the reference. On this,

Dr. C. C. JONES, of Georgia, remarked that the foreign letters were strongly abolition in their character, and the replies to them intimated that a continuance of the correspondence on this subject was not expedient or proper. The public reading of such epistles in this Assembly might create an impression unfavourable to Presbyterianism on the subject of slavery, whereas our Church had maintained a high and noble position in opposition to the violent temper of abolitionism, and that position should still be held. A correspondence of this kind should not be permitted to trammel us from year to year. It was not to be conducted on any terms of equality. Our foreign brethren seemed not to admit the possibility of compromise, but assumed that they were right, and that we were utterly and ruinously wrong, and that we must give way or be denounced. Now, in such a case, we had better say to them, the matter must proceed no further; here it must stop. We must agree to differ, each pursuing his own course, and his own responsibility. With these views, he thought it would be the part of wisdom to adopt the answers which had been submitted.

Dr. HOYT, of Georgia, was opposed to the reading, because he knew that the communications were so expressed that they were not fit to be heard in this house. He had doubted whether a due regard to self-respect should permit us even to notice them at all. He could not remain to listen to them, and if they were read through the importunity of some, it might be repented of at the end. The wisdom of the Com-

mittee might be relied on, and if any gentleman wished to peruse the letters, they could go to the table and read for themselves.

The Rev. Mr. COOK, of New York, said that his motive in moving the re-consideration was to make the proceeding consistent with itself, for there could be no propriety in saying that we had duly considered the letters which we had never read. He had but little objection to the replies. Some expressions might be modified with advantage; but he objected to any appearance of evading a fair investigation. He hoped that there was no intimidation because they were in a southern city.

The Rev. Mr. ROBINSON, of Ohio, had heard it asserted that the letters had been judiciously answered. It might be so, but how could he ascertain the truth unless he saw both sides. The threat from the brother in Georgia, that he would leave the house, was unfortunate. Surely we had sufficient fortitude to listen to all the denunciation which those letters contained—nay, even to their ribald abuse, if that was their character.

Mr. M'CANDLISH, of Ohio, deprecated any excitement of feeling on the subject. There was no just occasion for it. He wished the letters read, although he was ready to adopt the replies.

The Rev. Mr. JUNKIN made some remarks in opposition to the motion of reconsideration, on the ground that it was out of order.

Dr. HODGE, of Princeton, regretted that a cause of confusion and excitement should have arisen in a way so incidental. The Presbyterian Church had stood pre-eminent for its conservatism on the agitating subject of slavery. It was characterized by great unanimity of feeling and principle, and its discussions of the question had been calm and dignified.

Dr. JANEWAY concurring in this, the subject was for the present laid on the table.

The discussion being renewed on Wednesday, Dr. JONES, of Georgia, on behalf of the Committee, explained that they were entirely willing that the foreign letters should be read, if it were the wish of the house. They had no desire to suppress them; but had supposed, that as the ground assumed by abolitionists was so well known, it would be an unnecessary waste of time for the Assembly to hear a reiteration of their views. Since the reading had, however, been called for, he hoped that members would be gratified.

Dr. HOYT took occasion also to explain the remarks he made yesterday. He had been singularly misunderstood. He had never supposed he was uttering a threat, or using intimidating language. When he said that those who called for the reading might see cause to repent, he did not imply that they would incur danger thereby in a southern city; far from it; such an intimation would have done grievous wrong to the citizens of Richmond; but he meant to be understood, that when the language of the foreign letters was heard, they would repent that they had not suffered such tirades to pass in silence. In saying he would leave the house if the reading were entered upon, he intended to be understood, that he would not suffer himself to be lectured in such tones as characterized those letters.

The discussion was then continued in good temper and with much animation. Southern brethren manifested right feelings, and expressed their readiness to concede the point pleaded for, while those from the north manifested a readiness to frown upon the indelicate, not to say rude spirit, with which foreign Churches are disposed to interfere with the policy of the American Church, of which they have no just ideas or proper appreciation. Several speakers were careful to distinguish between the letters from Scotland and Ireland. The former is written with proper courtesy, and it was literally a triumph of the friends of the American Church in Scotland over the rampant abolitionists, who had been wrought up to the highest pitch of fury by such men as Garrison, Douglass, and Thompson. The letter from Ireland is a most remarkable specimen of the epistolary style. It speaks very moderately (and this is the only moderate thing about it) of the dignity and good sense of the Irish Assembly, which could have sanctioned it. Several of the speakers, with no little wit, referred to the singular contrast between the beginning and the ending of this brotherly epistle, and, to make the matter more obvious, they brought the extremes together somewhat in this fashion:—"Beloved brethren, ye are manstealers; dearly beloved in Christ, ye are manslayers and murderers; dearly beloved, you are murderers of fathers and mothers; you are honoured servants of the Lord, but we cannot rely on your word," &c. The letters were read, and then the answers were adopted with almost entire unanimity.

We take from the *Presbyterian* of the 12th June (the journal from which we copy the above report) the following answers of the Assembly to the letters addressed to them on the subject of slavery by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland:—

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

VENERABLE AND BELOVED BRETHREN—Your communication bearing date Edinburgh, August 10th, 1846, has been received, and we would



reciprocate your expressions of sincere brotherly love towards us, and interest in our welfare as a body of believers, more nearly assimilated to you in doctrine and discipline than to any other branch of the Church of Christ.

We continue to take a lively interest in your prosperity, and cease not to pray that your struggle for Christ's crown and kingdom may result in perfect and final triumph.

Our own Zion, notwithstanding our unfaithfulness and sins, has been mercifully preserved and prospered during the past year, and we feel that while we have cause for humiliation, we have reason also for thanksgiving and praise. Our prayer is, that the Head of the Church may abide with us and condescend to use our instrumentality for the promotion of His glory in our own and in foreign lands, and having filled up the measure of our days in His service, that he may minister to us an entrance abundantly into His everlasting kingdom above.

Your letter is chiefly occupied with your opinions and views of the system of slavery in these United States, and remarks on what you conceive to be our duty in relation to that great subject, both as members of the Church and citizens of the State. As we do not deem further communications, on our part, on this subject necessary, we refer you to our previous letters, and to our letter to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, a copy of which we herewith enclose you, on pages 223 and 224, of our Minutes for 1846.

By reference to these documents you will be put in possession of the sober and conscientious, and scriptural views entertained by our body, and learn our true position in relation to slavery; a position which we have always occupied, and shall continue to occupy in time to come.

We beg you will repose confidence in us, and, having perfect understanding of the subject in all its bearings and relations, that you will leave us to discharge the duties which rest upon us in view of it, praying that in all things we may be guided by wisdom from on High.

May the God of Peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting Covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Affectionately your friends and brethren.—Signed by order of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

J. H. THORNWELL, Moderator,  
WILLIS LORD, Stated Clerk,  
ROBERT DAVIDSON, Permanent Clerk.

Richmond, Virginia, May 26th, 1847.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

VENERABLE AND BELOVED BRETHREN,—Your letter dated Belfast, July 11th, 1845, has been received, and we rejoice to learn your unity in doctrine and order, your harmony in action, your increase in numbers, and the prosperity of your efforts at home and abroad to propagate and maintain the Gospel of the grace of God. May the great Head of the Church continue to enrich you with all utterance and wisdom, and make you eminently useful in His kingdom on earth.

We would gratefully acknowledge the goodness and grace of God towards the Presbyterian Church in these United States, represented by our Assembly, during the past year. While we have had, in some portion of our bounds, the special presence of God in the reviving influences of His Spirit—at no period of our history have we enjoyed more unity and peace, in doctrine and discipline, nor a more steady enlargement and advance in all the various branches of our labour to promote the glory of God in the salvation of men. We regard as a special indication of the grace of God towards us, that our Foreign and Domestic Missions are sustained, and are growing in the favour and affections of our ministers and members; and we see the approach of that day when the spirit of missions, which is the Spirit of Christ, shall pervade our entire communion.

We have duly considered the views expressed in your letter on the system of slavery as it exists in our country, and the suggestions which you have made of that course of action on our part, which you conceive necessary to a full discharge of our duty in relation thereto. We refer you to our letter addressed to your venerable body, bearing date, June, 1846, which must have been received by you ere this; in which letter the views and feelings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, in relation to slavery, are plainly and fully expressed. To that letter we deem it unnecessary to add anything; and by your leave, we shall dismiss the subject from our correspondence, assuring you that we comprehend it in all its bearings and relations, and know what our true position, as a Church of Jesus Christ, is and ought to be; and that position we have in time past conscientiously and deliberately taken, and shall in time to come faithfully maintain; and we trust that you will repose confidence in us, and allow us to judge

and act for ourselves, as those best informed and most interested; and we hope, by the grace of God, that we are as desirous as others of knowing and doing our duty.

With sincere prayer that grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord, may rest upon you, we are, venerable and beloved, your fellow-labourers and brethren in the Gospel. Signed by order of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,

J. H. THORNWELL, Moderator,  
WILLIS LORD, Stated Clerk,  
ROBERT DAVIDSON, Permanent Clerk.

Richmond, Virginia, May 26th, 1847.

In a resumé of the proceedings of the Assembly, the *Presbyterian*, of the 5th June, which we should state is the leading organ of the Old School Assembly, says:—"The most animated debate which occurred was on the report of the Committee on Foreign Correspondence, in which, answers to the letters from the General Assemblies of the Free Church of Scotland, and that of the Irish Presbyterian Church, were laid before the Assembly. The discussion, though spirited, was highly dignified. We have long been of opinion, that if our Scotch and Irish brethren, in seemingly wilful ignorance of the position of our Church in this country, will persist in annoying us with such unbrotherly epistles, we should cut the matter short, and cease to notice them."

Referring to the above documents, the same journal, of the 12th ultimo, has the following caustic remarks:—"These answers will commend themselves to every dispassionate and sober mind for their wisdom, forbearance, and true Christian temper. The Assembly has undoubtedly adopted the right course, in intimating their determination to cease from correspondence on the subject of slavery, with foreign ecclesiastical bodies. These bodies cannot comprehend the true position of the Church in this country, and why should they arrogate to themselves the office of censors to their brethren, who are not one whit behind them in conscientiousness, and all good fidelity to God?"

IMPORTANT PROCEEDINGS IN ACCOMAC, VIRGINIA.

Accomac Court House, March 29th, 1847.

A meeting of the citizens of Accomac county was this day held at the Court House, to take into consideration questions of vital importance to the South, growing out of the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was called to order by Edward P. Pitts, Esq., who, in a brief address, explained its object, and on whose motion it was organized, by the appointment of the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted, viz. :—

On the 31st of August last, the people of Accomac county assembled in public meeting, to take into consideration questions of vital importance to themselves, growing out of the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of SLAVERY. Regarding that institution as *civil* in its character, they conceived that they had an undoubted right as *citizens* to manifest their concern in the course of the church in reference to it. Whatever affects that species of property necessarily affects those who are *members of the community* in which it exists; and whatsoever association, ecclesiastical or other, which assumes to itself the right to take action upon it, must expect that action to undergo review on the part of those who are most deeply interested. Against the Methodist Episcopal Church, the people of Accomac had shown no hostility; nor had they felt themselves in any wise authorized, as a people, to interfere in her affairs, until, departing from her "ways of pleasantness," and her "paths of peace," she chose to wage an unhappy warfare, in which the rights and interests of the people here were directly put at stake. They saw the Methodist Episcopal Church of these United States, in General Conference assembled, without the interference of "the (so called) world," voluntarily proposing to themselves and adopting a "a plan of division" on the slavery question. They saw that division actually take place under two distinct (Northern and Southern) organizations, and, to their mortification and regret, they found their own fellow-citizens, the great body of the Methodists of Accomac, living in a Southern slaveholding country, giving in their formal adherence to that Northern organization, whose anti-slavery sentiments are in positive conflict with the safety of Southern rights and Southern institutions. In view of these justly alarming circumstances, and feeling themselves deeply aggrieved by the hostile attitude which was thus assumed, the people of Accomac felt themselves compelled to take some action in the premises, and accordingly was held the public meeting to which reference has been made in the commencement of this report. A Committee, composed of sixteen citizens, none of whom, it is believed, were hostile to the church, published an address, which reviewed at great length, in a spirit of candour and liberality, all the important points involved in the question, and this "in those respectful terms which (to use the words of the address itself) should be employed between brethren, neighbours, and fellow-citizens." After the right hand of fellowship was thus extended to them, in a spirit so conciliatory and frank, the question naturally arises, What course was



subsequently pursued? We regret to state that all these remonstrances have been utterly unheeded. The proceedings referred to have been scoffed at, and those who participated in them have been subjected to unmitigated denunciation and abuse. It was understood for a time, that the Methodists of the county themselves intended to prepare a reply to the address; instead of this, however, it appears that a reply was *procured* from an editor in the city of New York, through the columns of a newspaper. That reply, endorsed, sanctioned, and extensively circulated by the Methodists here as *THEIR* reply to the address, teems with the harshest strictures upon the motives of some of our most respectable citizens: therefore,

1. Resolved, That we entertain the highest veneration for that principle which accords to every individual the utmost freedom in the choice of his religious creed; but that we cannot view as religious any doctrines, in whatever church they may exist, which tend to endanger the peace, property, and lives of our fellow-men; especially in this light do we regard the dangerous doctrines of abolition.

2. That we esteem it to be the sacred duty of patriots to sustain the institutions of our own state, and that the time has now arrived when the condition of things in Accomac county requires that every citizen should stand forth in defence of the institutions of the South.

3. That the propagation of anti-slavery sentiments in our midst, is dangerous in the highest degree to the peace and interests of our country, and deserves our unqualified condemnation and abhorrence.

4. That the Northern Methodists of Accomac, by their avowal that "the Methodist Episcopal Church is *anti-slavery* in doctrine and discipline;" by their avowal that, "as a body, we are, and always have been opposed to the system of slavery, as defined and sustained by the laws of every slave-holding state in the Union; by their avowal that "the Methodist Episcopal Church has ever borne a faithful and explicit testimony against slavery as a great evil, and sought, by all safe and practical means, to extirpate it;" and that those efforts to extirpate it "were only relaxed in mercy to the slaves themselves" (disregarding, of course, the rights and safety of the owner); by their avowal that "we have looked at the system only as we found it in the statutes of the slave-holding states; and we have found it contrary to our views of morality, as taught in the precepts of God's holy word, and have held ourselves bound to testify against it, and to seek its extirpation by all suitable moral means and measures," have advanced opinions subversive of the rights of property, and calculated to endanger the lives of our citizens.

5. That their efforts to bring the judiciary of the state into disrepute, are at war with our notions of the first duty of the citizen, and are calculated to obstruct the impartial administration of justice.

6. That we cannot recognise the Northern abolition allies of the Methodists of Accomac, as parties to the contest; and the efforts to hand us over to them, evinces the weakness of a cause, which can be defended only by abolition aid.

7. That, after the respectful, friendly, and earnest appeal which has been made to the Northern Methodists of Accomac, we warn them of the danger their course is bringing upon the community, and that a farther persistence on their part must, and will, be met by such action as is prompted by a due regard for our self-preservation.

8. That it is hereby recommended to all patriotic citizens of Southern principles and feelings, to form committees of safety in their respective neighbourhoods, so organized as to communicate to each other all necessary information, and to promote unity and concert of action.

ROBERT J. POULSON, President.

### Home Intelligence.

The Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has recently visited the West of England, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the friends of the cause to the proceedings of Government in relation to Colonial legislation, immigration, and compulsory education. The places at which meetings have been held are the following:—Liskeard, Devonport, Plymouth, Exeter, Tiverton, and Taunton. The Rev. William Spencer, of Devonport, rendered most valuable assistance. The facts laid before these meetings were of an unexpected kind, and thoroughly convinced those to whom they were addressed that unwearied activity and vigilance were still required to guard the rights of the emancipated classes, as well as to advance the general cause of freedom throughout the world. It is the intention of Mr. Scoble to visit the friends of the anti-slavery cause in other parts of the country, with a view to the diffusion of information, and the concentration of action on those points which demand immediate attention.

### ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

On the evening of Monday, the 12th of July last, a well attended and respectable meeting took place at the Royal Subscription Rooms in this city, upon the important subject of the present state of the British Colonies and of slavery, and the slave trade throughout the world. WM. DENIS MOORE, Esq., the Mayor of Exeter, was in the chair; and J. SCOBLE,

Esq., and the REV. W. SPENCER, attended as a deputation from the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

The MAYOR opened the business of the meeting by glancing at the circumstances of the past,—the abolition of slavery in our colonies,—the immense cost at which this was obtained,—and the unqualified assertion of that great principle that slavery is opposed to the laws of God, and at the same time to the best interests of man. Although much however for the abolition of slavery had been done, yet still, he said, we must not stand with folded hands, but must apply to the subject the great lever of public opinion, based on sound argument and incontrovertible facts.

Mr. SCOBLE commenced a very eloquent and powerful address by reference to a former visit to this city, at a period when the great question of the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in our West India colonies was engaging the public mind, and the appearance that splendid hall presented on that occasion. He spoke also of the part the city of Exeter and the county of Devon then took in favour of human freedom. Their friends in the north of England he admitted did much, yet not more than the men of the county of Devon,—who had ever been foremost in the cause of liberty, not only throughout the British Empire, but the whole world. It might have been supposed that when the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies was achieved, that the purposes for which the Anti-slavery Society was formed were well nigh completed; with the deepest sorrow he was compelled to say, that this was very far from being the case. He was about that night to deal with facts, and it was more on the influence he hoped these would have, than on any arguments he might have the power of using, that he rested the cordial co-operation of the meeting and of the inhabitants of Exeter generally, in such measures as were necessary to be adopted, in order to prevent the great act of emancipation from becoming a mere nullity. They would all recollect that in the great triumph of the anti-slavery cause, the principle was laid down and most fully recognized, that man was free to labour for whomsoever he might please. It was not long, however, before it was seen that there existed among the proprietors in our colonial possessions a desire to circumscribe this right, and it was urged on the then government, that though liberty had been given to those who were previously slaves, yet an adequate protection had not been afforded them in the disposal of their labour. On this a series of royal ordinances were issued for the protection of the emancipated classes. That this should be done was demanded by the people, and the government responded to that demand. Ordinances were issued in relation to vagrancy and contracts, and it was directed that no coercive laws should be passed on these points by the colonial legislatures. In this country, we say there must be two parties to a contract, but the negroes had never been used to anything of this sort, and could scarcely be expected all at once, in disposing of their labour, to have a very correct and just idea upon the subject. Stipendiary magistrates therefore were required to see that between the party who wanted labour done, and he who hired himself to do it, the contract was based upon just and equitable principles. And had the law in this respect continued as in 1838, he (Mr. Scoble) would not have been there that evening. But he stood there before them to say that laws have been recently enacted which abrogate the just principles on which in this respect the royal ordinances were founded; and that the labouring population in our colonies are not now in a position of freely choosing either their employers or employments. He was there to tell the thinking and feeling inhabitants of Exeter, that laws had been enacted in the British colonies, by which the emancipated negro and the immigrant labourer were placed under a system of implied contracts with a master, extending from the agricultural labourer down to the washerwoman. Thus, if any labourer worked on an estate it is construed into a contract to labour there for one month; nor could he terminate that contract without giving fourteen days notice, and, failing to do this in time, he must then serve another month, with requirement of fresh notice as in the former case. This is the case with respect to the creole or emancipated negro. With respect to the immigrants it is intended that the implied contract shall be for six months, and that notice of two months should be given to terminate it, so that the liberty of these persons was almost wholly taken away. In the colonies, as in this country, a man must labour in order to obtain his daily bread, yet if he put his foot on an estate to labour, he was immediately held bound to continue to labour on the same property for a specified time, nor could he dissolve the implied contract without giving the specified notice. This was a violation of the principle upon which human society is founded—a breach of the great contract by which mankind are held together in community, and yet this is the law in the British colonies. Unless, therefore, this be at once met by a firm declaration of disapproval, on the part of the British public, the liberty of the labouring class in our colonies will be wholly taken away. Then as to the stipendiary magistracy by whom the interests of the master were to be protected on the one part, and those of the labourer on the other, there had been exhibited a determination on the part of the possessors of property in our colonies to get rid of them; they had shown a determination not only to be the law makers, but to be the sole administrators of the laws in our colonies. Their great object had been to supersede the stipendiary magistracy; and failing to do that, to give the planter-justices concurrent jurisdiction with



them in the administration of the law. In this they had succeeded. They had obtained a concurrent jurisdiction with the stipendiary magistrates, and his belief was, from the facts which had come to his knowledge, that unless the entire and perfect independence of the stipendiary magistrate were secured, the liberty of the labouring class in our colonies was clean gone. Having made these statements relative to the present condition of the labouring class in our colonies, he would now proceed to speak of the measure contemplated by the Government for still further coercing this part of the population of our colonies. Since the year 1834 it had been a question in some quarters how a sufficient amount of labourers were to be supplied to meet the alleged wants of the emancipated colonies; and, on this point, the Anti-slavery Society had had much correspondence with the Government. By the Society it had always been held as a principle not to be departed from, that nothing like constraint was to be placed on labour. The Society had always professed its belief that free labour is superior to, and will beat coerced labour; they had maintained that slavery was not only a great crime, but a gross blunder; and that the course to be pursued in the supply of labour, as of everything else, was that of common honesty and undeviating justice. Based on righteous principles there could be no objection to the introduction into the colonies of immigrant labourers. The Anti-slavery Society had never objected to immigration provided it were thus conducted. But how stood the fact? Why, that not only was immigration carried on in violation of sound principles, but, further, it was conducted, not at the expense of those intended to be directly benefited by it, the planters, but of the labourers themselves. Since 1834, 150,000 immigrants had been introduced into our colonies, for the purpose of competing with the emancipated labourers, and chiefly at their expense. These immigrants came into the colonies freemen, and were placed under the special protection of the stipendiary magistrates. What was to be their condition hereafter? He had a copy of a despatch sent out in October last, by Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, to the Governors of the Colonies, but which had not yet appeared among the parliamentary papers, in which every one of those principles he had propounded to that meeting was violated. Until a late period he had not been able to ascertain with anything like certainty, either the gross number of immigrants who had been thus introduced, the disparity between the sexes, how they were located, how employed, or the mortality that had occurred among them. There had been in fact no complete registration, but now the Government had resolved that a register should be kept. Had the object of this record been a legitimate one, no possible objection could be offered to it. But he thought the country would object to it when it came to understand that the object was to bring the whole immigrant population under a more stringent and coercive law. This was proposed to be done by a poll-tax and passports. The poll-tax was to be levied on non-agricultural labourers at the rate of five shillings per month, payable in advance. If they consented to work for a planter then they were to be free from this impost. The object of the tax was to force the immigrants to be sugar growers for the benefit of the planters, and at the expense of all other parts of the community. Now there was no tax to which the people of England had ever been more opposed than to a poll-tax, nor, looking to the character of the people, was this to be at all wondered at, as it smells of slavery. Lord Grey then had determined to introduce this odious tax into the colonies, and he called it a poll-tax! Mr. Scoble here read from an authority on this head, and then went on to say, that the payment of this sum was alleged to be demanded in consideration of the labourer having had a free passage to the colony. This was the first principle of this new law that was put forth; the second being that the labourer should be compelled to remain in the colony for the term of five years! Up to the time of the promulgation of this law, the immigrant was free, and had a right to return to his own country at any time at his own expense; but now that law being superseded, he will be compelled to remain, unless he obtain an expensive passport, and can pay for his passage home. The very name of passports was objectionable in this country: it was an interference with the freedom of the will, and smacked strongly of the arbitrary power that in this way is exercised by our continental neighbours. If the desire of the immigrant should be to return to his own land at the end of one year, he can only do so by paying £4 for his passport; at the end of two years, by paying £3 for his passport; at the end of three years, £2; at the end of four years, £1; and only at the end of the fifth year will he be entitled to his passport gratis. By this subtle and un-English system of poll-tax and passport the immigrant will, in effect, be compelled to become an agricultural labourer. Here, then, is a regulation than which nothing can more interfere with free industrial labour in our colonies; while, at the same time, it is a most arbitrary interference with the right of locomotion, a violation of justice, and a trespass on the privileges of free-born Britons. That meeting was well aware that no law was of any value unless it contained an executive principle. And so here every immigrant, whether African or Hindoo, who came into the colonies under this law, had his option of immediate labour on a plantation, or a prison, if he could not pay the poll-tax, for every sixpence of which unpaid, he would have to suffer one day's imprisonment with hard labour. Now only see how oppressively this

must act on the poor Hindoo. Here is a five shilling tax which is to be paid in advance, while the chances are that the unfortunate man may not possess a sixpence on his arrival in the colony; and yet, pay it he must, or go to labour on a plantation, however opposed this may be to his previous habits; or he will be incarcerated in a prison. Was anything worse than this ever heard of? and yet this was the act of the British Government. To attempt to extort from an unfortunate man, and that man a stranger, that which he was little likely indeed to be possessed of, and then because he had it not, to reduce him to the state of a serf on a plantation, or to lock him up and subject him to hard labour in a prison, was a refinement in cruelty, such as could scarcely fail to fill the country with surprise, and to call forth an expression of sympathy for the oppressed, and public indignation against its author. If they would levy the tax, yet at the same time give the poor immigrant time to obtain it, there would at least be more of a show of justice in the case; as in the course of a month he might be enabled to get a situation, and earn an amount sufficient to meet the demand. But as the regulation now stood, requiring payment *in advance*, it violated every principle of equity and justice. This change too was introduced after the system of immigration had been going on in our colonies for years on totally different principles. 150,000 persons had been introduced from India and other parts, of whom 63,000 had been imported into the Mauritius in about two years and a half, ending November, 1846. The law was to be retrospective in its operation, and to embrace women as well as men. This circumstance reminded him (Mr. Scoble) of the frightful disparity of the sexes. Of the 63,000 immigrants introduced into Mauritius, only 7766 were females. Here was a disproportion of the sexes that could not be healthful. Indeed the entire system of immigration as at present carried on, was to be condemned. What would be thought in this country if the manufacturers at Manchester, or the promoters of some railway, were to attempt to introduce by means of a tax levied on the persons they had already in their employ, a body of men, who were to compete with them in the labour market, and by rendering the supply of labour greater than the demand, reduce its price to the lowest point? Why, it would be accounted monstrous and unjust by every right-minded person. Such attempts to force the labour market were not only bad in principle, but opposed to sound policy. Mr. Scoble here showed that the course pursued by Lord Grey was diametrically opposed to the wholesome principles laid down by Lord Normanby when Colonial Secretary; and when the Government was constituted nearly of the same men as at present. Mr. Scoble next adverted to the plan for introducing Kroomen into the British colonies, and pointed out the danger that exists of our giving countenance and encouragement to an incipient slave-trade. He spoke of the indisposition of the blacks at Sierra Leone to immigrate; and of the bondage which exists among the Kroomen, showing that they are not, in the proper sense of the term, freemen; and gave it as a fact well known on the coast that though the Kroomen did not in their own country carry on a foreign slave-trade, the people themselves had no objection to be employed in the traffic. It behoved this country then to be most watchful, lest we be fettered with a new slave-trade. The language of the Government to the planters should be,—Gentlemen, if you want labourers, we will superintend the character of the immigration, but you must pay for the introduction of them yourselves. He would not permit the public revenue to be applied to such a purpose. The resources in British Guiana and Trinidad for years to come, were pledged for giving these colonies an abundant supply of immigrants, whilst those of Mauritius were exhausted, and the island immensely in debt, through the reckless extravagance of the Government in this particular. Mr. Scoble regretted that colonial questions were not more studied in this country. There could not be a finer field opened up for the statesman or lover of his species. He next spoke of the awful amount of mortality connected with immigration, which appears to be greater than even when slavery prevailed. Mr. Scoble next directed attention to a question of great delicacy and difficulty, that of education in the colonies. Upon the subject of whether or not it was the duty of the Government to provide education for the people, he gave no opinion, but he did object to the principle of compulsion being introduced into it. In illustration of this point, Mr. Scoble read an extract from a despatch of Lord Grey. By this the parents are to be compelled to send their children to school, whether they are desirous of doing so or not. It was a system of coercion, that would not be permitted in England, and he trusted in no other part of this vast empire besides. There was also an ingredient thrown into it that was most objectionable,—it was to be religious as well as secular. This was made essential, but how it was intended to be carried out he knew not. He knew not on which of the sections into which the Christian church is divided the favour of the Government was to be thrown. In British Guiana there were five denominations recognized by law, the Roman Catholic being one of them. Of all denominations he desired to be understood as speaking with respect. To the compulsory parts of this education scheme, he objected *in toto*. He objected also to the plan of forced labour of children at school, and to the punishment of parents for not sending their children to school. He hoped that the meeting would go along with him in passing such a resolution, as should convey to the members of the city the strong



and marked disapproval of their constituents of the course now being pursued by Government in the West Indies and other of our colonial possessions; and that such resolution should be communicated to Lord Grey, for the information of her Majesty's Government.

A resolution to this effect was moved by the Rev. JOHN BRISTOW, who expressed his concurrence in the sentiments generally, which had fallen from the preceding speaker.

The Rev. W. SPENCER of Devonport, seconded the resolution, and having spoken of the triumph of the rights of humanity in the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies, trusted this country would not again suffer the black man to be driven into a state of vassalage. He then commented on the mental state of the planters themselves. Their emancipation from deep-rooted prejudices he knew was not to be effected by Acts of Parliament, but he would pray for such an improvement of their mental faculties as should enable them to strip the film from before their eyes, and to emancipate themselves. This also he prayed for the members of the Government, and many of those who take their places within the walls of St. Stephen's.

The Mayor having made some observations on parts of the resolution, and been replied to in explanation by Mr. Scoble, the resolution was put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

Mr Scoble subsequently gave an interesting account of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in the United States, France, Holland, and other countries; and added some affecting details respecting the present extent and atrocities of slavery and the slave-trade, exhorting all present, in every practicable and peaceful way, to promote the overthrow of these gigantic evils. Thanks having been moved to the Mayor, the meeting separated.

### Foreign Intelligence.

**UNITED STATES.—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE SLAVE.**—We have never noticed so much apparent interest in the religious instruction of the slave population as has been very recently manifested in the south. Even in Charleston, the subject has been taken up, as will appear by the following resolutions, adopted at a "large and respectable meeting" in that place, at which the Hon. F. H. Elmore made a speech;

"Resolved—That, in the opinion of this meeting, the proper religious instruction of the coloured population is a duty pressed upon us by considerations of sound policy, as well as Christian obligation.

"Resolved—That we concur entirely in the opinions expressed by the session of this church, and by the Presbytery of Charleston, that, in order that such instruction should be given efficiently, and at the same time with proper safeguards, it must be afforded by thoroughly educated ministers, of sound principles, who are devoted to the welfare of the people, and who understand our institutions.

"Resolved—That the offer of the Rev. John B. Adger to devote himself gratuitously to this work of piety and usefulness, embodying, as he does in himself, all the qualifications desirable for this delicate and responsible office, should be accepted, and the funds be immediately subscribed for the erection of a church for a coloured congregation under his ministry.

"Resolved—That a subscription for this object be now opened to raise the funds necessary, to be received by the committee appointed by the session, and expended under their management.

"The committee, then, having given an opportunity to all present of subscribing, the meeting was adjourned.

"WM. MILLER, Secretary.

We know very well the qualified kind of instruction that is intended to be given, but this is better than none. It will be a very difficult matter to instruct the slave in the knowledge of a Divine Redeemer, no matter with what restrictions, without in some degree elevating his nature. Had the meeting adopted a resolution in favour of giving the Bible to the slave, without note or comment, it would have done much better.

**PROTEST OF MINISTERS AGAINST SLAVERY.**—We notice in the *Morning Star*, of Dover, N.H., a protest and declaration of sentiment on the subject of slavery, by the ministers of the Free-will Baptist church. The closing part of the protest is as follows:—

"We, therefore, by refusing to support slavery, its principles, or its advocates, and by withholding Christian and church fellowship from all guilty of the sin of slavery, and by remembering those in bonds as bound with them, would wish to wash our hands from the guilt of this iniquity.

"Believing our principles just, and the position we occupy such as God can approve and defend, and trusting in Almighty grace, we pledge for the support of these principles, and those in which they are embodied, our earnest prayers, our combined influence, and our most vigorous efforts."

This paper is signed by four hundred ministers.

### Colonial Intelligence.

**JAMAICA.**—Pauperism and destitution appear to prevail to a considerable extent in the city of Kingston, and the amount annually laid out for the relief of the poor, forms a large item in the expenditure of the public funds. It is also said, that this outlay is not likely to be diminished, but to increase from year to year.

We perfectly agree with our contemporaries, that such a state of matters should not be in these latitudes, and we cannot help thinking that the reckless manner in which immigration is carried on goes far to promote these evils, at least in Trinidad.

Since the introduction of the Coolies particularly, we see amongst us scenes which are too painful to dwell upon, and which fully warrant the severest condemnation of the system of immigration as hitherto pursued.

A cargo of 307 Coolies had arrived on the 15th ult. by the ship *Morley*, from Madras.

The governor has been on a visit to some of the country districts, and has given a very flattering account of the state of the African immigrants located in St. Thomas in the East. So vast is the improvement in their physical, moral, intellectual, and religious condition, "that it may be regarded almost as a transition to another life and another world." Whatever may be the case in Jamaica, we fear this would not be unjustly considered "hyperbolic language" in Trinidad.—*Trinidad Spectator*, June 19.

**THE COOLIES.**—We beg leave to direct the attention of the sub-agent for immigrants in this parish, to the fact, that during every day of the week, large numbers of Coolies imported in the ship *Athenian* are constantly walking about the streets of Falmouth, and begging from door to door. This is a nuisance which ought to be immediately put down, for there is no knowing to what evil consequences it may lead. If the immigrants are intended to increase the cultivation of the soil, means should be adopted to keep them on the properties on which they have been located, and in the constant performance of the duties for which they have contracted. We understand that one of these people received last week, by begging, the sum of eight dollars, which he requested his overseer to keep for him, as he was fearful of being robbed by his companions. The sooner our hint is acted upon the better.—*Falmouth Post*, June 23.

**BRITISH GUIANA.—Immigration.**—The bill to extend the provisions of ordinance, No. 2, anno 1845, to authorize the raising on loan of the sum of £500,000 for immigration purposes, has been passed by the Court of Policy.

**IMMIGRANTS.**—Three batches of Coolies have been received within the last few days. On the 6th inst. the *John Calvin*, from Madras, brought 270; during the night of the 7th, the *Lady Peel*, from Calcutta, came in with 241; and on the 8th the *John Wickliffe* also arrived from Calcutta with 276, making a total of 787. The season, however, is now over, and we can scarcely expect any more for several months. Vagrancy among the Coolies has of late been much lessened or checked; one cannot still avoid noticing occasionally, miserable objects crawling along the public streets, or lying stretched out under a tree or in the corner of some building; but the number of these unfortunates is by no means so great as it was even a few short months ago.—*Royal Gazette*.

**TRINIDAD.**—The barque *Cornwall* arrived this morning from Madras and St. Helena with 277 Coolies and eighty-seven liberated Africans, making 251 males and 123 females in all. We have not heard or seen as yet how they are to be disposed of.—*Trinidad Spectator*, June 16.

**ANTIGUA.**—Labourers seem to be rather scarce in this colony. The ship *Denison* from Madeira had arrived with 217 immigrants, which had made some improvement in this respect, and a few hundreds more were expected from the same place. It is said in another paper, that there are now some seven or eight hundred of these people there. Several are seen begging in the streets, but apparently more because it is "an habitual vice" with them than from actual want.—*Trinidad Spectator*, June 19.

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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